

American SOCIOLOGICAL Review



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By ARNOLD WILFRED GREEN

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THE APPROACH TO A GENERAL THEORY OF ACTION BY PARSONS AND SHILS

G. E. SWANSON

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FOR more than ten years, Talcott Parsons has spoken about the uses of, and the need for, general theory in sociology. Having been promised that general theory would provide sociology with all the benefits that it has supplied other disciplines—such benefits as universality, necessity, and accuracy of proof—it was natural that sociologists awaited the publication of Parsons' and Shils' book *Toward a General Theory of Action*¹ with keen anticipation.

The published discussions and reviews of this effort of Parsons,² and of Parsons and Shils, to develop an approach to a general theory of action and of social systems have included much talk about style of writing, vagueness of concepts, and unjustified psychologizing, with little attention to the assumptions that underlie their work and to the insights it may contain. Since these assumptions are the residue that is likely to have the greatest effect on the development of general sociological theory, it seems appropriate to make them explicit and to explore their implications.

At the beginning of their work the authors tell us something of what we may expect. Their theory is of "the categorial type," which means that it

. . . involves a system of classes which is formed to fit the subject matter, so that there are intrinsic relations among the classes, and these are in accord with the relations among the items of the subject matter. Thus, in these systems, the principles of classification, themselves, include statements of certain relationships among classes. The elements are so defined as to constitute an interdependent system. . . . A categorial system in this sense is always logically prior to the laws which state further relations between its elements. The laws state generalized relationships of interdependence between variables in the system. The laws presuppose the definitions of the variables, and they presuppose those relations which are logically implied by the definitions and by the kind of system in question. Insofar as specific laws can be formulated and verified, a categorial system evolves into a theoretical system.³

Or, again,

The present monograph is a straightforward exposition of a conceptual scheme.⁴

At no point do they claim to present a theoretical system. What they do say is that they want to try out the usefulness of certain assumptions about the bases from which a general theory of "action"⁵ could

¹ Talcott Parsons and Edward A. Shils (eds.), *Toward a General Theory of Action*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951.

² Talcott Parsons, *The Social System*, Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1951. This paper deals primarily with problems raised by Parsons and Shils in their monograph "Values, Motives, and Systems of Action," in Parsons and Shils, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-275. *The Social System* extends that monograph to a more detailed account of the implications of the theory of action for sociology. Since it is based on the monograph, the comments we make here have implications for *The Social System* as well.

³ Parsons and Shils, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

⁵ According to Parsons and Shils, social systems are a special case of the general theory of action. Sociology is not the study of social systems, but of

be built. Their initial effort seems to be a matter of formulating some assumptions about theory building in general, and about theory-building in disciplines concerned with "action" in particular, of presenting some primitive categories for analyzing "action," and, finally, of showing how these primitive categories, in various combinations and permutations, can be used to encompass all of the phenomena now designated in existing concepts describing action. In this way, for example, Parsons⁶ tries to show how Nazi ideology may be thought of as a product of the combination of the second-order concepts of ascription and universalism or how⁷ the professional relation to a client is one special case of the second-order concepts of universalism, affective neutrality, specificity, collective focus, and achievement.

By so "deriving"⁸ higher level concepts from more primitive elements, Parsons and Shils hope to give one kind of evidence for the fruitfulness of the primitive concepts they propose for later use in deductive systems (i.e., adequate primitive concepts should be capable of representing the differentiations in the phenomena under study), and, in a preliminary way, to show the conceptual interconnections among these variables.

The kinds of evaluation we may make of their work are limited by these intentions. It is not germane to say that they predict nothing, because no predictions are attempted or intended. But we may ask such a question as the following: How adequate are the primitive concepts proposed by Parsons and Shils for redefining and ordering the major concepts now used by sociologists? It is this problem that the present paper examines.

In one sense, the primitive concepts of Parsons and Shils are stated in the following

that aspect "of the theory of social systems which is concerned with the phenomena of the institutionalization of patterns of value-orientation in the social system. . ." See Parsons, *op. cit.*, p. 552.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 191-194.

⁷ Parsons and Shils, *op. cit.*, p. 259.

⁸ Parsons and Shils use "deriving" in a special sense. It does not mean an operation in which a set of conditions are stated, and from these, certain consequents are predicted. What they do seem to mean is an operation by which one seeks to show that new combinations of primitive concepts give an adequate definition of additional concepts. In this way, Nazi-type ideologies are not *predicted* from combinations of universalistic and ascriptive orientations, but are *defined* by this combination.

quotation, "*The frame of reference of action* involves actors, a situation of action, and the orientation of the actor to that situation."⁹ Action is behavior "oriented to the attainment of ends in situations, by means of the normatively regulated expenditure of energy."¹⁰

. . . There are four points to be noted in this conceptualization of behavior: (1) Behavior is oriented to the attainment of ends or goals or other anticipated states of affairs. (2) It takes place in situations. (3) It is normatively regulated. (4) It involves the expenditure of energy or effort or "motivation" (which may be more or less organized independently of its involvement in action). Thus, for example, *a man driving his automobile to a lake to go fishing* might be the behavior analyzed. In this case, (1) to be fishing is the "end" toward which our man's behavior is oriented; (2) his situation is the road and the car and the place where he is; (3) his energy expenditures are normatively regulated—for example, this driving behavior is an *intelligent* means of getting to the lake; (4) but he does spend energy to get there; he holds the wheel, presses the accelerator, pays attention, and adapts his action to changing road and traffic conditions. When behavior can be and is so analyzed, it is called action.¹¹

Presumably, then, any behavior that involves some awareness of a goal, and that is organized to choose means for reaching such a goal which have previously been learned to be more effective rather than less effective, will be action. This is to be contrasted with behaviors without goals (if such exist) or those cases in which a goal is known, but the means to the goal are completely unknown.¹² Since few behaviors of interest to sociologists fall into these last two classifications, except as matters of degree, the distinction is probably of little moment for their work.

At any rate, it is the properties of actors, situations, and the orientations of actors to situations that will be manipulated by these authors to define the conceptual battery of

⁹ Parsons and Shils, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

¹² For possible examples of behavior without goals, see Norman R. F. Maier, *Frustration*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1949, and the discussion of expressive behavior in Herbert Blumer, "Collective Behavior," in Alfred M. Lee (ed.), *New Outline of the Principles of Sociology*, New York: Barnes and Noble, 1946, pp. 167-222.

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sociology and, we may suppose, at some later date, to predict the phenomena of social systems. These properties, then, represent the primitive concepts that will actually be used in future theory building and they are the center of our concern here.

(1) *Properties of Actors.* We are told very little about the properties of actors, as such, other than that they may be individuals or collectivities.¹³ The actions produced are processes of "change of state in such empirical systems of action."¹⁴ At other points, we are told that the actor behaves toward his world in terms of its "significance for direct gratification or deprivation of impulse-needs."¹⁵ Finally, the actor must be capable of having, and of acting on, the kinds of orientation to situations that appear below.

(2) *Properties of Situations.* There is a little more information about the situation encountered by the actor. He¹⁶ may find that situation consisting of "a class of social objects (individuals and collectivities) and a class of nonsocial (physical and cultural) objects."¹⁷ Social objects may be sub-classified in two ways. The actor-subject may see these objects "solely in terms of what [an actor-object] is and irrespective of what that actor [-object] does." In the former case he is concerned with the actor-object as a complex of qualities; in the latter, as a complex of performances. The actor-subject may, secondly, see social objects as having "such a broad and undefined significance for [him] that he feels obliged to grant them any demand they make of him,"¹⁸ or he may see social objects as having "such a narrow and clearly defined significance for [him] that [he] does not feel obliged to grant them anything that is not clearly called for in the definition of the relationship which obtains between them."¹⁹ The first of these situations is called diffuse; the second, specific.

Nonsocial objects ("any objects which are

not actors") are called "physical" if they do not interact with "the actor-subject as other actors do; and . . . constitute only objects, not subjects, of cognitive, cathectic and evaluative orientation."²⁰ When nonsocial objects have the additional property of being produced through interaction they are called "cultural." Laws, ideas, and recipes would be examples of cultural objects.

(3) *Varieties of Orientations of Actors to Situations.* Like the properties of situations, the orientations of actors to situations are of two major varieties. One of these is called "motivational orientation," the other, "value-orientation." Motivational orientation

refers to those aspects of the actor's orientation to his situation which are related to actual or potential gratification or deprivation of the actor's need-dispositions. We will speak of three modes of motivational orientation.

i. The *cognitive* mode involves the various processes by which an actor sees an object in relation to his system of need-dispositions. Thus it would include the "location" of an object in the actor's total object-world, the determination of its properties and actual and potential functions, its differentiations from other objects, and its relations to certain general classes.

ii. The *cathectic* mode involves the various processes by which an actor invests an object with affective significance. Thus it would include the positive or negative cathexes implanted upon objects by their gratificational or deprivational significance with respect to the actor's need-dispositions or drives.

iii. The *evaluative* mode involves the various processes by which an actor allocates his energy among the various actions with respect to various cathected objects in an attempt to optimize gratification. Thus it would include the processes by which an actor organizes his cognitive and cathectic orientations into intelligent plans. . . . Evaluation is functionally necessary for the resolution of conflicts among interests and among cognitive interpretations which are not resolved automatically; and which thus necessitate choice, or at least specific selective mechanisms.

Value orientation refers to those aspects of the actor's orientation which commit him to the observance of certain norms, standards, criteria of selection, whenever he is in a contingent situation which allows (and requires) him to make a choice. . . . On a

¹³ See Blumer, *op. cit.*, especially the discussion of the acting crowd.

¹⁴ Parsons and Shils, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

¹⁶ To simplify the presentation, actors will be referred to as if they were individuals. The reader is asked to remember that they may be collectivities.

¹⁷ Parsons and Shils, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

cultural level we view the organized set of rules or standards as such, abstracted, so to speak, from the actor who is committed to them by his own value-orientations and in whom they exist as need-dispositions to observe these rules. Thus a culture includes a set of *standards*. An individual's value orientation is his commitment to these standards.

We shall speak of three modes of value-orientation, which parallel the modes of motivational orientation.

i. The *cognitive* mode of value-orientation involves the various commitments to standards by which the validity of cognitive judgments is established . . . [Among these would be the standards setting the validity of observations, the relevance of data, and the importance of problems.]

ii. The *appreciative* mode of value-orientation involves the various commitments to standards by which the appropriateness or consistency of the cathexis of an object or class of objects is assessed . . . these standards purport to give us rules for judging whether or not a given object, sequence, or pattern will have immediate gratificatory significance.

iii. The *moral* mode of value-orientation involves the various commitments to standards by which certain consequences of particular actions and types of action may be assessed with respect to their effects upon systems of action. . . . Specifically, they guide the actor's choices with a view to how the consequences of these choices will affect (a) the integration of his own personality system and (b) the integration of the social systems in which he is a participant.²¹

The examination of the properties of actors, situations, and actors' orientations to situations seems to reveal that there are not three categories of properties here, but one—the orientations of actors to situations. Inspection of the properties of situations shows that each of them is defined by the way actors may experience it. The actor's properties are his potential for having such experiences as gratification, deprivation, or the modes of orientation. The modes of orientation, themselves, are simply additional potentialities for relating to objects. They are varieties of the more fundamental capacity for experiencing gratification and deprivation.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 58-60.

Some interesting implications follow from this conclusion. The present paper will discuss three of them: (1) The nature of the variables that will be used in prediction if this kind of primitive category is employed, (2) the method of prediction implied, and (3) the suitability of these particular categories for such prediction.

(1) *The Nature of the Variables for Use in Prediction.* It will be helpful to phrase this problem as one of stating the dependent variable to which one might predict from these categories of actors' orientations and the independent variable *from* which the predictions will be derived. The dependent variable is action and its varieties. The independent variable will be a predisposition of the actor to take one kind of action as against another.

(2) *The Method of Prediction Implied.* If we accept the common approach of saying that predispositions to behave are a part of any total act, then what we do in predicting action is to forecast the later phases of acts from their predispositional stages. Parsons and Shils provide no formal method to enable prediction to the predispositions themselves. The major problems of prediction that might be handled by their concepts will be those that tell us (a) the conditions under which predispositions will result in one form of action rather than another²² and, with the formal nature of the resulting action held constant, what will be (b) the substantive nature of the manifestations of combinations of predispositions of a particular nature (e.g., Nazi ideology being a product of ascription and universalism). It is instructive that the formal "derivations" appearing in this book are precisely of the latter type.

All current behavior theories seem to be of this kind. All of them predict in the style: Given an organism of type X with predispositions A and B, the following behavior will result; or: If one adds predisposition C to A and B, the organism's behavior will be

²² For important work of this kind, see Sigmund Freud, "Psychopathology of Everyday Life," "The Interpretation of Dreams," "Wit and its Relation to the Unconscious," in A. A. Brill (ed.), *The Basic Writings of Sigmund Freud*, New York: The Modern Library, 1938, pp. 35-178, 181-549, 633-803; and John Dollard, "Under What Conditions Do Opinions Predict Behavior?" *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 12 (Winter, 1948-49), pp. 623-632.

different in c ways from what it would otherwise have been.

An example may be taken from a recent experiment by Festinger and Thibaut.²³ These investigators brought small populations into the laboratory and put them to work on a task that could only be solved through the reaching of some consensus among the people involved. The situation was arranged to insure that there would be considerable diversity of opinion among the participants and that these differences of opinion would be such that the participants would perceive them as falling on a single continuum. The prediction was that these conditions would force participants to communicate more frequently to those of their number holding the opinions most extremely different from those held by most group members.

If the prediction in this experiment were restated in terms of one variety of reinforcement theory, it might read like this: *General theory*: When humans are faced with a series of barriers to a desired goal, they will try to remove those barriers. *Operational definitions*: For college students at the University of Michigan, reaching a solution to the experimental problem is a goal. Persons holding divergent ideas from those of the rest of the group will prevent the achievement of consensus. Therefore they will be manipulated to remove their differences. *Epistemic correlations*:²⁴ From the general knowledge of the experimenters through experience in our culture, these operations are valid replications of the nature and relations among the concepts of the general theory. Therefore they will provide a valid test of that theory.

What we have done here is to state that, to the extent that the theoretical and conceptual materials are validly replicated, the prediction will hold. We have placed the *theoretically* necessary and sufficient conditions for our prediction within the already existing behavior predispositions of the organism, and said that organisms having such

predispositions will behave overtly in predictable ways.

Sociologists will remember that such writers as Herbert Spencer and Ellsworth Huntington took certain objective conditions external to the organism, assumed they would all be experienced in the same ways by all organisms, and that, as we have assumed, overt behaviors would follow from these induced predispositions. It was in large part to take account of the fact that there often was no one-to-one correspondence between the "objective" nature of the environment and the way the organism dealt with it that led psychologists as well as sociologists²⁵ to build theories that predicted behavior from the environment conceptualized in the terms in which it was experienced.

(3) *The Suitability of These Categories for the Prediction of Action.* The predispositions to behave that are specifically listed in the statement of Parsons' and Shils' "Frame of Reference" included three sub-types of the predisposition to be gratified and deprived: the cognitive, cathectic, and evaluative modes. Another kind of predisposition, the value orientations, are really derivations from the motivational modes of orientation. All that is added to the natural propensities of the organism to experience his situation through cognizing, cathecting, and evaluating is the learning of specific standards that give focus to these aspects of behavior. The two sub-classes of social objects seem to be of a different order and cannot be discussed in detail²⁶ in this paper. It is the three motivational modes, then, that give us most of the basic sub-types of the experiencing of gratifi-

²³ For a sample sociological effort of this kind, see William I. Thomas, *The Unadjusted Girl*, Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1923, pp. 42-43, on "the definition of the situation."

²⁴ We have seen that the two major sub-classifications of social objects (quality-performance and specificity-diffuseness) are, in reality, additional orientations of the actors toward their worlds. Many of the objections to be raised against the other orientations used by Parsons and Shils do not apply to these. It does seem relevant, however, to ask why these are the only sub-classifications of orientation to social objects. There seems to be no criterion given by these authors that would rule out such classifications as the following from a list at this level of generality: Shall I move toward, away from, or against this object (See Karen Horney, *Our Inner Conflicts*, New York: W. W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1945)? Do I manipulate this object or permit myself

²³ Leon Festinger and John Thibaut, "Interpersonal Communication in Small Groups," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 46 (January, 1951), pp. 92-99.

²⁴ For the function of epistemic correlations, see Filmer S. C. Northrop, *The Logic of the Sciences and the Humanities*, New York: The Macmillan Co., 1947.

cation and deprivation, and they may be a center for our attention, since, presumably, their combinations will someday be used among the principal independent variables in predictions.

Parsons' and Shils' present use of these three aspects of behavior takes the form of arranging them into some relatively informal combinations as a basis for defining further orientations to the situation. They are "informal" in the sense that the properties of these orientations are not specified with rigor nor are the rules for their combination stated in clean, precise ways.

It is striking that these three major analytic categories are the very ones that were central to the faculty psychologies of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, typically expressed as in Kant's "ultimate modes of psychical functioning"—modes of knowing, feeling and willing.²⁷ It is certain that Parsons and Shils are far too sophisticated to resurrect the sterilities of the older faculty psychology, but it is impressive that the difficulties one finds in using their categories for prediction include those usually mentioned in *post mortems* on faculty psychology.

The experience of psychologists with these three aspects of behavior may help us to test the probable usefulness of Parsons' and Shils' scheme. As long as cognizing, cathecting, and evaluating were considered to be "ultimate

to be manipulated by it? What are my chances of dealing successfully with this object? Is this object real or an illusion?

It also seems relevant to suggest that the two sub-classifications of social objects mentioned by Parsons and Shils and all of the additional classifications suggested above, seem to be derivations from a still more general frame of reference that sees the meanings of situations as being set by decisions as to whether objects are such things as barriers, paths, or goals, whether they occur frequently or infrequently and regularly or irregularly, or whether they are irrelevant to the action of the organism. (For an expansion of one version of such a set of constructs, see Kurt Lewin, *The Conceptual Representation and the Measurement of Psychological Forces*, Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1938). If the classifications of social objects are, indeed, all second-order derivations from such more primitive concepts, then it should follow that the frame of reference of Parsons and Shils needs restructuring to include such concepts to make possible these and other derivations of the same order.

²⁷ See Immanuel Kant, *Critique of Pure Reason*, 1781; *Critique of Judgment*, 1790; and *Critique of Practical Reason*, 1788.

and distinct functions" present in all behavior, no differential predictions could be made from them and the result was sterility. When, as Murphy²⁸ suggests, they were treated as "labels for complex activities which [required] further study," the possibility of hypothesis construction opened again. When psychologists abandoned using them as explanatory variables and turned to still more primitive variables, and to variables permitting a more detailed description of events—to concepts such as reward-deprivation, or to other properties of the perceptual field—the possibility of building systematic learning and personality theories appeared.

A second difficulty that psychologists found in working with this trichotomy was its arbitrary division of behavior into three parts. Since they wanted to predict the whole acts of organisms, they sought for some concepts that could be assigned dynamic properties for that task. Such notions as those connected with reinforcement were among those finally chosen. Using these ideas, it was possible to predict, for example, that all of behavior, including knowing, thinking, and deciding, would take certain forms.

The doubts of still other psychologists about the fruitfulness of thinking in terms of such distinctions as these come from empirical observation that each unit of observed behavior (a) involves perception-need-feeling-belief-emotion-etc.,²⁹ and that (b) these do not vary at random with reference to each other. Consequently, there is a growing emphasis on the evolving of laws of behavior that will involve "all the parameters of [behavior] simultaneously."³⁰ As Krech has phrased it:

... Experimentally this means that we cannot talk about "varying the stimulus conditions and holding motivation constant," or "varying motivation and holding knowledge constant." Varying the stimulus conditions will vary the [organization of behavior] and therefore all of its attributes.³¹

²⁸ Gardner Murphy, *Historical Introduction to Modern Psychology*, New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1950, p. 217.

²⁹ David Krech, "Notes Toward a Psychological Theory," *Journal of Personality*, 18 (September, 1949), p. 80.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

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A fourth difficulty involves the operational problems of the system. As many experimenters have made explicit, it is possible to control the things that are available for people to cognize, but it is impossible to vary such materials and hold reward constant. Hence, the recent wave of studies of the effects of social experience on perception hold the objective visual field constant while varying the reward-deprivation properties of the phenomena. Or, in learning experiments, there is a growing tendency to say that it is impossible, at least at present, to rule out the possibility of reinforcement and, hence, to judge whether learning can occur in its absence.³²

We may expect extensions of Parsons' and Shils' scheme to be confronted by these four issues, but the problem that seems most critical in working with this trichotomy lies in its inability to lend itself to use as part of dynamic theories as contrasted with static descriptions. The key to this property lies, I think, in what we have already seen to be the nature of current behavior theories—that is, their prediction from predispositions present in the organism to subsequent behavior. These theories are essentially equilibrium theories, although, generally, theories of a moving or "quasi-stationary" equilibrium. This means that they conceive that the organism, if allowed to function over time in an unchanging environment, will develop a habitual, repetitive behavior pattern. The organism's behavior changes because the environment changes. And there lies the problem. As we have seen, to get around the fact that many environmental changes had no one-to-one relationship with particular organic responses, psychologists invented a terminology that said in effect: let us bring environmental changes into our system by classifying them in terms of the properties through which these organisms experience them, and in terms of which the response of the organism is determined. Thus a hungry rat runs faster as he approaches food, not because there is anything in the food that

draws him to it, but because food corresponds to an available gratification in a behavioral field in which a force or motive or need for this gratification exists. The food, and the hunger sensations induced by artificial starvation, are simply operational equivalents of the concepts of the system. The theory postulates that the environment that determines responses is the environment as experienced, and the concepts of the theory are geared to permit the description of the environment as experienced. Terms of various systems illustrative of this include: drive, goal, valence, barrier, motive, attitude, path, sign-gestalt, reinforcement, and reward.

The point to be made is that these terms, and the theories of which they are a part, lend themselves to dynamic formulations because they unite the nature of the organism with the nature of the environment as a source of change in the organism. By contrast, cognition, cathection, and evaluation are almost exclusively intra-organismic terms. As such, they are capable of describing some events occurring within the organism, but not of relating those occurrences to the events that set them in motion and determine their direction. This means, contrary to Parsons and Shils, that the road from these categories to a theoretical system is not simply a matter of hooking their categories to a motivational scheme, but that it will require a comprehensive redefinition of all second, third, and n -order categories in terms of some set of primitive concepts more suitable for the expression of laws of behavior. In the course of such a redefinition, it may be possible to derive by definition categories additional to those they have already defined.

One test of the fruitfulness of using the three motivational modes as part of a battery of primitive concepts of the organism's predispositions, from which we can derive other concepts that we need, is to see what Parsons and Shils have done with them. (Let us keep in mind, again, that "derive" is here used to mean "combine to produce by definition"; not "to predict from the logical interrelationships among postulates.") Their answer is to be found in the definition of the "pattern variables" that play so crucial a part in their analyses of empirical data.

First, let us establish that these pattern variables are derived in the manner stated

³² And Krech would probably caution that even in experiments that seem to hold certain properties of the perceptual field constant, what is held constant objectively by the experimenter may not be held constant in the experience of the subject, thus invalidating the effort to control non-reward conditions.

above. In their introduction of the material, Parsons and Shils say:

. . . There are further important conceptual entities and classificatory systems to be defined, but these, in a sense, derive from the basic terms that have already been defined. The point is that the further entities can be defined largely in terms of the entities and relationships already defined, with the introduction of a minimum of additional material.

. . . If one were to look back over the sections of this chapter devoted to the objects of the situation and to the orientation of the actor to the situation . . . , he would see that an actor in a situation is confronted by a series of major dilemmas of orientation, a series of choices that the actor must make before the situation has a determinate meaning for him. The objects of the situation do not interact with the cognizing and cathecting organism in such a fashion as to determine automatically the meaning of the situation. Rather, the actor must make a series of choices before the situation will have a determinate meaning. Specifically, we maintain, the actor must make five specific dichotomous choices before any situation will have a determinate meaning. The five dichotomies which formulate these choice alternatives are called the *pattern variables* because any specific orientation (and consequently any action) is characterized by a pattern of the five choices. Three of the pattern variables derive from the absence of any biologically given hierarchy of primacies among the various modes of orientation. In the first place, the actor must choose whether to accept gratification from the immediately cognized and cathected object or to evaluate such gratification in terms of its consequences for other aspects of the action system. (That is, one must decide whether or not the evaluative mode is to be operative at all in a situation.) In the second place, if the actor decided to evaluate, he must choose whether or not to give primacy to the moral standards of the social system or subsystem. In the third place, whether or not he decides to grant primacy to such moral standards, he must choose whether cognitive or appreciative standards are to be dominant, the one set with relation to the other. . . .

The other pattern variables emerge from indeterminacies intrinsic to the object situation: social objects as relevant to a given choice situation are either quality complexes, depending on how the actor chooses to see them; social objects are either functionally

diffuse (so that the actor grants them every feasible demand) or functionally specific (so that the actor grants them only specifically defined demands), depending on how the actor chooses to see them or how he is culturally expected to see them.³³

The present objective is to reflect on certain properties of those pattern variables derived from the orientations of the actor-subject. In this case, the following remarks will often apply to those derived from alternatives within the class of social objects³⁴ as well.

Parsons and Shils argue that these five derived choices are exhaustive. This claim is especially crucial, since it is said that these five choices are the most general statements of the behaviors that define all possible situations for actors. If this is true, and if our earlier statement is correct that newer behavior theories predict from the predispositions of the actor to subsequent behavior, then these choices represent the second-order categories for stating the independent variables for truly predictive theorizing.

Parsons and Shils say that there are three assumptions underlying their "contention that the five pattern-variable dilemmas are an exhaustive set."

. . . These assumptions are: (1) acceptance of the basic frame of reference as we have defined it; (2) acceptance of the level of generality on which we are proceeding, which is the *first* level of derivation from the basic frame of reference; (3) acceptance of our method of derivation through the establishment of primacies among types of interest and the resolution of ambiguities intrinsic to the world of social objects.³⁵

In the absence of any clear criteria for knowing whether we are working on the "*first* level of derivation from the basic frame of reference" it is uncertain whether any seeming exceptions to their rule of exhaustiveness are valid, but some things come to mind that seem to be possible bases for doubting the rule. We notice, for example, that a whole set of concepts referring to organizational forms are never derived by Parsons or by Parsons and Shils from these

³³ Parsons and Shils, *op. cit.*, pp. 76-77.

³⁴ See *ibid.*, p. 248, for a chart that illuminates these relationships.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

pattern variable dilemmas or from the pattern variables. Among them are such ideas as: crowd, social class, bureaucracy, social movement, mass action, community, or nation. Nor is there a derivation by definition of the inter-personal relationships subsumed under the "social processes" of three or four decades ago: cooperation, competition, conflict, assimilation, and accommodation, to say nothing of such sub-types of each as those elaborated by Simmel.³⁶ Nor do we find derivations by definition of the more genotypic concepts used to describe inter-personal influence, for example, authority, legitimacy, power, coordination, communication, leader, follower, prestige, or of the highly general categories for describing social systems such as integration, division of labor, mobility, or stratification. Finally, there is no derivation of a whole range of concepts such as the rate, frequency, duration, and intensity of the contacts among individuals. (In fact it is hard from this scheme to tell what it is that is in process in social life. Is it the physical movements of actors, their ideas, the modifications they make in each other's behavior, or what?)

Parsons and Parsons and Shils do use concepts such as the underived examples mentioned above. They are critical to their extension of the scheme. But, and this is the important point, these ideas appear neither in the initial concepts of the frame of reference nor are they given even an informal derivation from the orientational modes of the actor that form the prospective independent variables of a future theoretical scheme. They are brought in because they are necessary, but they are not formally related to the rest of the system.

It may be, of course, that they could be formally related, that Parsons and Shils were not interested in doing that job, or that they just did not get around to it. What seems likely is that such formal relating is difficult, if not impossible, using their present concepts.

In view of the intra-organismic nature of the basic categories of Parsons and of Parsons and Shils, it is not surprising that such

use as their categories have is largely in the area of describing intra-organic events—in this case, primarily the treatment of the ideologies of populations as they presently exist in the functioning of those populations, and, further, that this treatment is a kind of Benedictean "patterns of culture" approach³⁷ in which the connections between the details of those ideologies and their master themes are shown largely by shrewd intuition and a kind of *Verstehen* rather than by formal derivation.

It seems to me that the ranges of conventional sociological concepts that they fail to derive are the very ones that tend to require some uniting of organisms with the environmental conditions set by other organisms. They are the concepts that correspond to the properties of social systems as *systems*. There is not space here to state personal preferences for the primitive concepts from which system properties might be derived, but it can be pointed out that concepts stating the environment as experienced have been used for the description, and for the *prediction*, of such phenomena.³⁸

³⁷ Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1934.

³⁸ The reader may be reminded of a very few such illustrative cases as these: The derivation by definition of integration, and a variety of stratification phenomena, in Robert F. Bales, *Interaction Process Analysis*, Cambridge: Addison-Wesley Press, 1950. The prediction by Mark A. May and Leonard W. Doob of competition and cooperation from behavioral states in their monograph *Cooperation and Competition*, New York: Social Science Research Council, 1937. John Hemphill's study of leadership and followership in his *Situational Factors in Leadership*, Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University, 1949.

Sumner's statement of the behavioral nature of culture in William G. Sumner, *Folkways*, Boston: Ginn and Company, 1906. The classic definitions of a number of the "social processes" and of interaction, society, and group, in Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1924.

See also the conceptualization by Louis Wirth of "Urbanism as a Way of Life," *The American Journal of Sociology*, 44 (July, 1938) pp. 1-24. For a preliminary statement of the traditional phenomena of "collective behavior" in predispositional terms, see Guy E. Swanson, "Social Change in the Urban Community," in Ronald Freedman and others, *Principles of Sociology*, New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1952.

None of these references are as comprehensive in

³⁶ See, for example, Georg Simmel, "Superordination and Subordination," in Kurt H. Wolff (ed.), *The Sociology of Georg Simmel*, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1950, pp. 181-303.

The absence of derivations of terms describing the system-properties of social systems may be a function of Parsons' choice of the dependent variable for sociological theory. He states:

Sociological theory . . . is for us that aspect of the theory of social systems which is concerned with the phenomena of the institutionalization of patterns of value-orientation in the social system, with the conditions of that institutionalization, and of changes in the patterns, with conditions of conformity with and deviance from a set of such patterns and with motivational processes in so far as they are involved in all of these. . . .³⁹

And "institutionalization" of a social practice or standard occurs to the extent that:

. . . from the point of view of any given actor in the system, it is both a mode of the fulfillment of his own need-dispositions and a con-

attempted coverage as are Parsons and Shils, but they point the way to analyses of behavior in terms of other sets of predispositional variables. They also cast doubt on the assumption of Parsons and Shils that substantial theoretical prediction must wait until there exists a comprehensive set of categories for all major predictions. More probably, the scientist is led to a knowledge of the categories he needs, and of how they should be formulated, as a result of his attempts to predict empirical events. Such events are commonly amenable to several descriptive approaches. The choice of one of these is usually made in terms of its suitability for use in prediction.

³⁹ Parsons, *op. cit.*, p. 552.

dition of "optimizing" the reactions of other significant actors. . . .⁴⁰

While it is doubtful that the Parsons-Shils frame of reference has the categories needed to predict to this order of dependent variable, such a variable is consistent with the lack of derivation of system properties from that frame of reference, for this dependent variable describes the conditions under which an actor will come to view a given behavior as gratifying to himself and others. Thus one might be interested in the degree of integration or stratification or mobility in a population insofar as these conditions would affect its members' acquiring such a conception of the reward-deprivation qualities of a given behavior, but, presumably, one would not be interested in the prediction of these conditions for their own sake.

Parsons, and Parsons and Shils, have performed a major service in clearing away many old controversies, in showing the reasonableness of a behavioral foundation for general theory in social science as a whole and in sociology in particular, in clarifying the interrelations among many concepts, and in the insightful interpretation of particular pieces of data. However, the behavioral scheme they propose is inadequate for deriving the events they hope some time to order.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

UNIVERSALISTIC AND PARTICULARISTIC FACTORS IN ROLE ASSIGNMENT

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THE concept of role conflict was developed to describe situations in which the individual wonders which of several roles he should assume.¹ The wavering of the non-commissioned officer in the military service between his role as enforcer of discipline and his role as "one of the boys"

is the prototype of the role conflict problem.

Closely related to "role conflict" is what may be called the "role assignment" quandary. Whereas role conflict refers to the individual's concern over his own roles, role assignment refers to his concern with the roles of others. Both are of great interest to the sociologist, for the essence of his subject is the reciprocal social expectations for self and for others. The study here reported is an at-

¹ Samuel A. Stouffer, "An Analysis of Conflicting Social Norms," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 14 (December, 1949), pp. 707-717.

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tempt to explore the role assignment quandary.²

The data were gathered as follows: The principal of a high school in a suburb of Boston convened a special assembly for the purpose of administering the questionnaire to the more than four hundred boys and girls in the Senior class. Unfortunately, 23 out of the 228 boys and 11 out of the 225 girls in the class were not available at the time of the initial administration of the questionnaire, and it was not possible to follow up these cases because the school program was so tightly scheduled. Nevertheless, these cases were not entirely excluded from the analysis, for some data were available on them from the school records. The heart of the study consisted of six sociometric questions, constructed in a parallel form for girls and boys. Each form contained five questions about students of the same sex and one question about students of the opposite sex. The following questions are from the form filled out by the boys:

1. Which boys in the *Senior class* do you judge to be the best students?
2. Which boys in the *Senior class* are your closest friends?
3. Which boys in the *Senior class* do you admire most?
4. Which Senior boys are most popular with other boys in the *Senior class*?
5. Which boys in the *Senior class* are good dancers, good conversationalists and generally poised in social situations?
6. Which girls in the *Senior class* are good dancers, good conversationalists and generally poised in social situations?

After each question were six blank lines, but the instructions did not call for any set number of responses. "You need not use all the lines for your answers and if you wish to list more than six names, you may do so." Most respondents gave three or four names for each question. The investigators also col-

lected background data on each respondent, partly from the questionnaires, partly from school records. The information included: (1) his educational aspirations and plans, (2) his father's occupation, (3) his religious background, (4) his I.Q. score, (5) his father's education, (6) his club and team memberships, and (7) his Kuder Preference scores. By working back and forth between the sociometric and the personal data, it was possible to examine systematically the characteristics both of chooser and of chosen for each criterion of choice. After being processed in this manner, the data were transferred to I.B.M. cards and analyzed.

There are several underlying assumptions of the study, the first one being that a good way to explore the determinants of role assignment is to attempt to account for *discrepant* role assignments made by various members of a social system. The Senior class of a suburban high school was selected as the social system within which role assignments were to be investigated. The second assumption was that choices of "best student," of a "close friend," of a person the respondent "admires," of a person the respondent thinks is "popular," and of a person with valuable social skills, are analogous to role assignment in the real world. This latter assumption is especially vulnerable to objection because the choices were not for *roles* in the usual sociological sense. That is, clear-cut rights and obligations were not involved in the assignments. For example, a boy considered "best student" by his fellows certainly has *status* in the sense of generalized prestige but probably not in the sense of institutionalized prerogatives. Moreover, the essence of the approach was to consider the lack of consensus in these "role" assignments; had *institutionalized* roles been involved, discrepant assignments would not have occurred to any significant extent. Nevertheless, the hope was that these questionnaire choices were sufficiently role-like to provide insight into the processes by which individuals assign their fellows to one role rather than to another in the real world.

The "best student" choice was intended as the prototype of a universalistic role.³

² Samuel A. Stouffer encouraged the writer to undertake this study. In his capacity as Director of the Laboratory of Social Relations of Harvard University, he allocated funds from the role conflict project for this purpose. In the collection and processing of the data Bernard Cohen did an outstanding job, solving many difficult methodological problems. See Bernard Cohen, "Friendship Choices of High School Girls," Senior Honors Thesis, Department of Social Relations, Harvard University, 1951 (unpublished).

³ According to Talcott Parsons, social roles may be defined primarily in universalistic or primarily in particularistic terms. For a piece of research em-

TABLE 1. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN KUHLMANN-ANDERSON INTELLIGENCE QUOTIENTS AND NUMBER OF CHOICES BY SCHOOLMATES AS BEST STUDENT

| Number of Choices Received from Girls as Best Student | Girls' I.Q. Scores | | | | | | Total |
|---|--------------------|-------|---------|---------|---------|--------------|-------|
| | 70-89 | 90-99 | 100-109 | 110-119 | 120-129 | 130 and over | |
| 0 | 13 | 40 | 46 | 32 | 19 | 8 | 158 |
| 1-5 | 3 | 5 | 13 | 10 | 6 | 2 | 39 |
| 6 or over | - | - | 1 | 2 | 6 | 13 | 22 |

| Number of Choices Received from Boys as Best Student | Boys' I.Q. Scores | | | | | | Total |
|--|-------------------|-------|---------|---------|---------|--------------|-------|
| | 70-89 | 90-99 | 100-109 | 110-119 | 120-129 | 130 and over | |
| 0 | 3 | 15 | 32 | 26 | 19 | 4 | 99 |
| 1-2 | 8 | 10 | 16 | 16 | 7 | 4 | 61 |
| 3-5 | 6 | 5 | 11 | 5 | 3 | 2 | 32 |
| 6 or over | 1 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 4 | 12 | 23 |

That is, it was assumed that students were more likely to use objective criteria in assigning one another to this role than to any of the others. Presumably they would evaluate one another's academic abilities and make assignments accordingly. There is some evidence compatible with this assumption (see Table 1). The students who received the most choices as best student tended to be those with very high Kuhlmann-Anderson I.Q. scores. Table 1 does not fully reveal the

ploying these concepts, see Samuel A. Stouffer and Jackson Toby, "Role Conflict and Personality," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 66 (March, 1951), pp. 395-406.

remarkable consensus in the class as to who the best students were. For example, among the girls, five received more than 51 choices as best student, two received between 25 and 50, and four received between 11 and 25. Nevertheless, though universalistic considerations seem to have been important in the choice of best students, particularistic factors were apparently involved too—the religion of the chooser and of the chosen appears to make a substantial difference. Jewish and Christian students are both sociocentric in their best student choices⁴ (see Table 2).

* Sociocentrism is the tendency to prefer mem-

TABLE 2. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RELIGION OF THE CHOOSEN AND RELIGION OF THE CHOSEN FOR BEST STUDENT CHOICES*

| Religion of Choosers | Girls | | | | | | | |
|----------------------|--|---------------|-------------------|--------------|----------------|---------------|----------------|----------------|
| | Religion of Girls Rated Best Student by Senior Girls | | | | | | | |
| | Catholic Number | Jewish Number | Protestant Number | Total Number | Cath. Per cent | Jews Per cent | Prot. Per cent | Total Per cent |
| Catholic | 23 | 92 | 68 | 183 | 13 | 50 | 37 | 100 |
| Jewish | 10 | 425 | 29 | 464 | 2 | 92 | 6 | 100 |
| Protestant | 14 | 93 | 30 | 137 | 10 | 68 | 22 | 100 |
| Total | 47 | 610 | 127 | 784 | 6 | 78 | 16 | 100 |

| Religion of Choosers | Boys | | | | | | | |
|----------------------|--|---------------|-------------------|--------------|----------------|---------------|----------------|----------------|
| | Religion of Boys Rated Best Student by Senior Boys | | | | | | | |
| | Catholic Number | Jewish Number | Protestant Number | Total Number | Cath. Per cent | Jews Per cent | Prot. Per cent | Total Per cent |
| Catholic | 172 | 66 | 48 | 286 | 60 | 23 | 17 | 100 |
| Jewish | 163 | 192 | 46 | 401 | 41 | 48 | 11 | 100 |
| Protestant | 87 | 39 | 44 | 170 | 51 | 23 | 26 | 100 |
| Total | 422 | 297 | 138 | 857 | 49 | 35 | 16 | 100 |

* On this table and on successive tables, unless otherwise noted, distributions are for choices rather than for individuals. Since different individuals gave different numbers of choices, the ordinary tests of significance are not possible because these tests assume either independent observations or equal numbers in each set of observations.

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Why should this be? Why should 92 per cent of the choices of Jewish girls for the best student role go to Jewish girls while only 50 per cent of the Catholic girls and 68 per cent of the Protestant girls assigned Jews to this role? Why should 60 per cent of the Catholic boys' choices for the best student role go to Catholic boys while only 41 per cent of the Jewish boys and 51 per cent of the Protestant boys assigned Catholics to this role? On the face of it, the best student role is clearly oriented to universalistic values. How did these particularistic considerations manage to intrude into the assignments? One possibility is that the choosers knew very well who the best students were but gave their sociometric votes to those they liked for personal reasons, these being their co-religionists. This seems unlikely; it amounts to a deliberate deception on the part of the respondents, and the care with which they filled out the questionnaire suggests that they were cooperating to the best of their abilities. More likely, genuine misperceptions occurred. Christians really thought Christians were better students than they are, or Jews really thought Jews were better than they are, or both. But why should these misperceptions occur? Two explanations suggest themselves: (1) Jews and Christians have unequal chances of meeting one another in the classroom situation so that within each sub-system the discrepant evaluation of the scholastic abilities of the two groups is correct; (2) Jews and Christians are unlikely to associate freely with one another *outside* of the classroom situation, and if we assume that one's awareness of an individual's intellectual attainments is enhanced by personal contact, this could account for the misperception.⁵

bers of one's own group or category for a social role even though such membership is functionally irrelevant to the performance of the obligations of the role. By way of contrast, ethnocentrism is the feeling that people having different values from one's own are, *ipso facto*, inferior. We often infer ethnocentrism when we observe sociocentrism. But of course it is possible to attempt to measure ethnocentrism directly by various kinds of attitude scales.

⁵ It should be noted that we are focusing on the Jewish-Christian difference instead of retaining the Protestants and Catholics as separate groups. There are two reasons for this procedure. First, the sociocentrism of Catholics and Protestants toward one another is not as striking as that of both together

Some data are compatible with both explanations. First, there is actually less chance for a Jewish student to be in the same class with a Christian student than for either to be in a class with a co-religionist. This is not because school authorities segregate Christian and Jewish students. It is simply that the bulk of Jewish boys and girls take the college preparatory course whereas a majority of Christian students take various non-college courses. Eighty-seven per cent of the Jewish girls and 83 per cent of the Jewish boys are enrolled in the college preparatory course. Among Christian students, only 39 per cent of the girls and 47 per cent of the boys take the college preparatory course. Since the curriculum is different for the college preparatory students and the students not planning for college, students in the different courses may not have a good opportunity to evaluate one another's academic skills. This line of reasoning gains additional force from the fact that Christians are more likely to assign Jews to the best student role if they are themselves in the college course. This likelihood is greater among the girls, although boys do not reverse the tendency toward less sociocentrism when choices of college preparatory students alone are examined (see Table 3). Unfortunately there are too few Jewish students in the non-college courses to make the reverse comparison meaningful—to see whether non-college Jews are more likely than college-oriented Jews to name Christians as best students.

Apparently academic contact is not the complete explanation of the observed sociocentrism, however. For even when course of study is controlled, there still is a tendency for Jews to name Jews and Christians to name Christians as best student. Can this important remaining difference be explained by turning to the second explanation, the social cleavage between Jews and Christians? When assignments to the close friend role are examined, it becomes clear that most Jews choose Jewish friends and most Christians name Christian friends (see Table 4). But this is not surprising. It is expected that particularistic factors will be involved in assignment to a particularistic role. The ques-

toward Jews. Second, the theoretical point can be made equally well using two groups rather than three.

TABLE 3. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE RELIGION OF THOSE CHOOSING AND THOSE CHOSEN FOR THE ROLE OF BEST STUDENT, CROSS-CLASSIFIED WITH COURSE OF CHOOSENERS

| Course of Chooser | Christian Girls' Choices for Best Student Role | | | | | | Total Per cent |
|--|--|----------------|-----------------|------------------------|------------------|--|-------------------|
| | Christians Number | Jews Number | Total Number | Christians Per cent | Jews Per cent | | |
| College Course, Planning to Go to College | 20 | 57 | 77 | 26 | 74 | | 100 |
| College Course, Not Planning to Go and Non-College Course, Planning to Go to College | 28 | 51 | 79 | 35 | 65 | | 100 |
| Non-College Course, Not Planning to Go to College | 83 | 73 | 156 | 53 | 47 | | 100 |
| Course of Chooser | Jewish Girls' Choices for Best Student Role | | | | | | Total Per cent |
| | Christians Number | Jews Number | Total Number | Christians Per cent | Jews Per cent | | |
| College Course, Planning to Go to College | 17 | 311 | 328 | 5 | 95 | | 100 |
| College Course, Not Planning to Go and Non-College Course, Planning to Go to College | 8 | 78 | 86 | 9 | 91 | | 100 |
| Non-College Course, Not Planning to Go to College | 14 | 32 | 46 | 30 | 70 | | 100 |
| Course of Chooser | Christian Boys' Choices for Best Student Role | | | | | | Total Per cent |
| | Christians Number | Jews Number | Total Number | Christians Per cent | Jews Per cent | | |
| College Course, Planning to Go to College | 146 | 58 | 204 | 72 | 28 | | 100 |
| College Course, Not Planning to Go and Non-College Course, Planning to Go to College | 39 | 12 | 51 | 76 | 24 | | 100 |
| Non-College Course, Not Planning to Go to College | 148 | 37 | 185 | 80 | 20 | | 100 |
| Course of Chooser | Jewish Boys' Choices for Best Student Role | | | | | | Total Per cent |
| | Christians Number | Jews Number | Total Number | Christians Per cent | Jews Per cent | | |
| College Course, Planning to Go to College | 180 | 172 | 352 | 51 | 49 | | 100 |
| College Course, Not Planning to Go and Non-College Course, Planning to Go to College | 32 | 24 | 56 | 57 | 43 | | 100 |
| Non-College Course, Not Planning to Go to College | 6 | 13 | 19 | * | * | | * |

* These nineteen choices are those of only seven individuals.

tion is: can this help to explain the intrusion of particularistic factors in a universalistic role assignment? If Christians who have Jewish friends, and Jews who have Christian friends, tend to be less sociocentric in their best student choices, the following causal chain suggests itself in explanation of some

of the misperception. An ethnocentric attitude leads to the restriction of one's personal relationships to in-group members; socially valuable qualities are more likely to be perceived in people with whom one has some personal relationships; hence in-group members are perceived as having an unreal-

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TABLE 4. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE RELIGION OF THOSE CHOOSING AND THOSE CHOSEN FOR THE ROLE OF CLOSE FRIEND, CROSS-CLASSIFIED WITH COURSE OF STUDY

| Course of Chooser | | Christian Girls' Choices for Close Friend Role | | | | | |
|--|-----|--|----------------|-----------------|------------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| | | Christians Number | Jews Number | Total Number | Christians Per cent | Jews Per cent | Total Per cent |
| College Course, Planning to Go to College | 52 | 17 | 69 | 75 | 25 | 100 | |
| College Course, Not Planning to Go and Non-College Course, Planning to Go to College | 78 | 6 | 84 | 93 | 7 | 100 | |
| Non-College Course, Not Planning to Go to College | 166 | 6 | 172 | 97 | 3 | 100 | |
| Course of Chooser | | Jewish Girls' Choices for Close Friend Role | | | | | |
| | | Christians Number | Jews Number | Total Number | Christians Per cent | Jews Per cent | Total Per cent |
| College Course, Planning to Go to College | 24 | 282 | 306 | 8 | 92 | 100 | |
| College Course, Not Planning to Go and Non-College Course, Planning to Go to College | 6 | 74 | 80 | 8 | 92 | 100 | |
| Non-College Course, Not Planning to Go to College | 14 | 32 | 46 | 30 | 70 | 100 | |
| Course of Chooser | | Christian Boys' Choices for Close Friend Role | | | | | |
| | | Christians Number | Jews Number | Total Number | Christians Per cent | Jews Per cent | Total Per cent |
| College Course, Planning to Go to College | 172 | 47 | 219 | 79 | 21 | 100 | |
| College Course, Not Planning to Go and Non-College Course, Planning to Go to College | 38 | 10 | 48 | 79 | 21 | 100 | |
| Non-College Course, Not Planning to Go to College | 192 | 13 | 205 | 94 | 6 | 100 | |
| Course of Chooser | | Jewish Boys' Choices for Close Friend Role | | | | | |
| | | Christians Number | Jews Number | Total Number | Christians Per cent | Jews Per cent | Total Per cent |
| College Course, Planning to Go to College | 49 | 295 | 344 | 14 | 86 | 100 | |
| College Course, Not Planning to Go and Non-College Course, Planning to Go to College | 13 | 38 | 51 | 25 | 75 | 100 | |
| Non-College Course, Not Planning to Go to College | 7 | 13 | 20 | * | * | * | |

* These twenty choices are those of only seven individuals.

istically great incidence of socially valuable qualities compared with members of the out-group. In Table 5, the relationship between in-group choice of friends and sociocentric preferences is examined. Apparently social intimacy with members of another religious

group *does* make a difference in the perception of this group's valuable qualities.

There are several questions, raised by this tabulation, which point up the necessity for caution in generalizing these findings. First, the difference between the choice behavior

TABLE 5. CHOICES OF ETHNOCENTRIC AND TOLERANT HIGH SCHOOL BOYS FOR THE ROLES OF BEST STUDENT, ADMIRENED, MOST POPULAR, AND MOST POISED*

| Choosers | Choices as Best Student | | | Jews Per cent | Christians Per cent | Total Per cent |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|-----------------|------------------|------------------------|-------------------|
| | Jews Number | Christians Number | Total Number | | | |
| Ethnocentric Christians | 51 | 255 | 306 | 17 | 83 | 100 |
| Tolerant Christians | 56 | 107 | 163 | 35 | 65 | 100 |
| Ethnocentric Jews | 113 | 126 | 239 | 47 | 53 | 100 |
| Tolerant Jews | 96 | 93 | 189 | 51 | 49 | 100 |
| Choices as Admired | | | | | | |
| Choosers | Jews Number | Christians Number | Total Number | Jews Per cent | Christians Per cent | Total Per cent |
| | | | | | | |
| Ethnocentric Christians | 21 | 199 | 220 | 9 | 91 | 100 |
| Tolerant Christians | 46 | 94 | 140 | 33 | 67 | 100 |
| Ethnocentric Jews | 76 | 46 | 122 | 62 | 38 | 100 |
| Tolerant Jews | 51 | 45 | 96 | 53 | 47 | 100 |
| Choices as Most Popular | | | | | | |
| Choosers | Jews Number | Christians Number | Total Number | Jews Per cent | Christians Per cent | Total Per cent |
| | | | | | | |
| Ethnocentric Christians | 27 | 235 | 262 | 10 | 90 | 100 |
| Tolerant Christians | 58 | 88 | 146 | 40 | 60 | 100 |
| Ethnocentric Jews | 122 | 64 | 186 | 66 | 34 | 100 |
| Tolerant Jews | 89 | 63 | 152 | 59 | 41 | 100 |
| Choices as Most Poised | | | | | | |
| Choosers | Jews Number | Christians Number | Total Number | Jews Per cent | Christians Per cent | Total Per cent |
| | | | | | | |
| Ethnocentric Christians | 27 | 198 | 225 | 12 | 88 | 100 |
| Tolerant Christians | 52 | 67 | 119 | 44 | 56 | 100 |
| Ethnocentric Jews | 137 | 18 | 155 | 88 | 12 | 100 |
| Tolerant Jews | 107 | 28 | 135 | 79 | 21 | 100 |

* An ethnocentric student is operationally defined here as one who restricts all of his *friendship* choices to his own religious group. The assumption is that such a restriction is a consequence of the attitude that students with other religious values from one's own are, *ipso facto*, inferior. Thus Jewish students are considered ethnocentric if they name no Christian friends and Christian students are considered ethnocentric if they name no Jewish friends. It should be noted that this table refers to boys only. It is unfortunately not possible to produce a corresponding table for the girls without recoding the data.

of Jewish ethnocentrists and Jewish tolerants is much smaller than the difference between Christian ethnocentrists and Christian tolerants. For example, Christian ethnocentrists make only 17 per cent out-group choices for best student compared with 35 per cent out-group choices of the Christian tolerants; Jewish ethnocentrists, on the other hand, give about the same percentage of out-group choices as the Jewish tolerants (47 to 51 per cent). Moreover, though the ethnocentrists are the majority in both Jewish and Christian groups, they are a much larger proportion of the Christian group than they are of the Jewish. Is this merely an artifact of our operational definition of ethnocentrism or

does it reflect a peculiarity of Jewish-Christian relations? Second, the sociocentrism is less in the choices for best student than in choices for admired, popular, or poised. Whereas ethnocentric Christians choose half as many Jews for the role of *best student* as do tolerant Christians, they choose only a quarter as many Jews for the roles of popular, admired, and poised compared with tolerant Christians. Perhaps ambiguity of role qualifications is likely to favor sociocentrism. Qualifications for the best student role are far more definite than for the admired, popular, or poised roles. Perhaps the tendency is to assign in-group members to valuable social roles to the extent that the

qualifications are not sufficiently definite to compel the chooser to recognize the superiority of the out-group member.

Some additional evidence supporting the hypothesis that ambiguity of role qualifications is conducive to sociocentrism comes from a comparison of the relative sociocentrism in the choices given the top ten individuals for each role with the sociocentrism in the choices given the remainder of the group (see Table 6). Quite clearly,

SUMMARY

In assigning one another to the role of best student, senior boys and girls in a suburban high school tend to overvalue the academic prowess of co-religionists. The data collected in this study suggest that these misperceptions stem from a conflict in assignment criteria. One criterion, the universalistic one, is academic performance. The less ambiguous the scholastic competence of the individual, the more likely he will be

TABLE 6. DIFFERENTIAL SOCIOCENTRISM OF HIGH SCHOOL BOYS IN THE CHOICES GIVEN THE TOP TEN CANDIDATES FOR EACH ROLE COMPARED WITH CHOICES GIVEN THE REST OF THE CANDIDATES*

| | | Top Ten Candidates | | | Rest of the Candidates | | |
|---------------------|------|--------------------------|-------|------|------------------------|-------|--|
| | | Choices for Best Student | | | | | |
| Choosers | Jews | Christians | Total | Jews | Christians | Total | |
| Jews | 120 | 202 | 322 | 90 | 15 | 105 | |
| Christians | 74 | 151 | 225 | 34 | 297 | 331 | |
| Choices for Admired | | | | | | | |
| Choosers | Jews | Christians | Total | Jews | Christians | Total | |
| Jews | 69 | 72 | 141 | 57 | 20 | 77 | |
| Christians | 31 | 95 | 126 | 35 | 189 | 224 | |
| Choices for Popular | | | | | | | |
| Choosers | Jews | Christians | Total | Jews | Christians | Total | |
| Jews | 137 | 107 | 244 | 74 | 17 | 91 | |
| Christians | 55 | 97 | 152 | 28 | 216 | 244 | |
| Choices for Poised | | | | | | | |
| Choosers | Jews | Christians | Total | Jews | Christians | Total | |
| Jews | 124 | 25 | 149 | 115 | 19 | 134 | |
| Christians | 57 | 55 | 112 | 20 | 209 | 229 | |

* As in the preceding table, corresponding data for girls are unavailable.

the top ten in each role draw their fans from both religious camps to a greater extent than the rest of the group. Why should this be so? Let us assume, first, that a boy who gets a large number of votes, say, for best student, is more likely to be a good student than one who gets a smaller vote. If this assumption is correct, it appears that an individual who shows outstanding qualifications for a role, whatever his religion, will be assigned to it by both Christians and Jews. When, on the other hand, his role qualifications are ambiguous, assignment tends to be affected by a factor extraneous to the role, such as religion. In these more ambiguous circumstances, Jews vote for Jews as best student; Christians vote for Christians.

considered a best student by Jews and Christians alike. The other criterion is particularistic loyalties, and one such loyalty polarizes itself along religious lines.⁶ The more ethnocentric the chooser, the more likely he will pass over a better student from the religious out-group in order to choose one from his religious in-group.

⁶ It should be borne in mind that individuals differ in the extent to which they are oriented to religious particularism. Thus we found that the high school population could be divided into "ethnocentrics" and "tolerants." And it is even possible that groups differ in the extent to which they are oriented to religious particularism. For example, the data presented in Table 5 are compatible with the conclusion that Jews may not define Christians as an out-group as readily as Christians define Jews as an out-group.

THE DEFERRED GRATIFICATION PATTERN: A PRELIMINARY STUDY

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SCATTERED pieces of sociological research have highlighted what we shall call "the deferred gratification pattern." The present paper is not primarily directed toward documentation of these bits of research, but it will gather together significant points from a number of them and will present some of the results of a preliminary empirical study designed to carry forward an exploration of the deferred gratification pattern.

Deferred gratification evidently refers to postponement of gratifications or satisfactions. Thus, in the job area, as Hollingshead shows, the lower-class boy, eager to pay his own way and escape family domination, seeks a full-time job at a very early age and accordingly leaves school.¹ The freedom he thus obtains happens to be illusory and he finds himself caught in a round of jobs with low pay and little promise. Deferment of the gratification of being employed and independent, through the process of obtaining a more elaborate education before one seeks a job, is eventually rewarded. But it is not necessarily implied that deferment of gratification is always worthwhile, and this is in any case largely beyond our present concern. The deferment of gratification occurs in many other areas. It may be contended that it does indeed fall into a *pattern*, characteristic of the so-called "middle class," members of which tend to delay achievement of economic independence through a relatively elaborate process of education, tend to defer sexual gratification through intercourse, show a relatively marked tendency to save money, and the like. For purposes of this preliminary specification, two further points must be noted. The deferred gratification pattern appears to be closely associated with "impulse renunciation."² Thus, some of the per-

tinent current literature emphasizes, by way of example, middle-class renunciation of impulses toward violence. The concepts of deferment and renunciation tend, however, to overlap. One may renounce only temporarily, and the question as to whether we are dealing with renunciation or with deferment becomes verbal. A more important point is the *normative* character of the deferred gratification pattern. Middle class persons feel that they *should* save, postpone, and renounce a variety of gratifications. There are very probably also normative elements in the "lower class" pattern of non-deferment. Thus, Whyte notes that one of the important divergences between the social mobility pattern and the corner-boy activity pattern in Corerville appears in matters involving expenditure of money. The college boys save money for educational purposes or to launch business or professional careers. But the corner boys must share their money with others and avoid middle class thrift. Should a corner boy have money and his friend not have it, he is expected to spend for both. The corner boy may be thrifty, but, if so, he cannot hope to hold a high position in the corner gang.³

Through the work of Kinsey and his associates much clarification has been given to the deferred gratification pattern as it manifests itself in the sexual sphere. Ginzberg notes that "the poor" discount the future more heavily than "the better situated classes," and thereby, in our terms, as far as sexual intercourse is concerned, they do not defer gratification, i.e., relatively to "higher" classes.⁴ Kinsey and his co-workers

cal literature. See, e.g., A. Davis and R. J. Havighurst, "Social Class and Color Differences in Child Rearing," in *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 11 (December, 1946), pp. 698-710.

³ W. F. Whyte, *Street Corner Society*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943, p. 106.

⁴ E. Ginzberg, "Sex and Class Behavior," in D. P. Geddes and E. Curie (Editors), *About the Kinsey Report*, New York: The New American Library, 1948, p. 134.

¹ A. B. Hollingshead, *Elmtown's Youth*, New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1949, Ch. 14.

² This notion, or close approximations thereto, has also cropped up frequently in recent sociologi-

supply pertinent evidence.⁵ Relatively, "lower" class persons indulge considerably in pre-marital intercourse; "upper" class persons show relative deferment of gratification in this sector of behavior. One illustrative comment may be remarked. This is to the effect that in two or three lower level communities it was not possible to discover a single male who had not had sexual relations with girls by the time he had reached the age of sixteen or seventeen. The rare boy who had not had such relations by that age was either physically handicapped, mentally defective, homosexual, or "earmarked for moving out of his community and going to college."⁶

Work designed to describe the pattern of deferred gratification in something like its entirety is especially marked in some of the research on Negro classes. Drake and Cayton, in probing upper-class definitions of lower class life, emphasize the definition of a pattern of that life. They summarize some of the testimony of upper class interviewees, indicating that a few of those interviewed defined the lower class solely in terms of economic criteria, high income meaning high status, and low income low status; but that a larger number thought of a pattern, a constellation of traits, when they sought a definition of the lower class. The trait that most consistently emerged as clue to lower class status was "rowdy or indecorous behavior in public." Lower class people do not restrain their emotions and are ignorant of "how to act," of correct dress, of wise expenditure of money.⁷ One gathers from the context that Drake and Cayton would largely accept the descriptive, if not the evaluative,

⁵ Cf. the data of A. C. Kinsey, W. B. Pomeroy and C. E. Martin, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*, Philadelphia and London: W. B. Saunders Co., 1948, Ch. 10.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 381. The words quoted point to what may become one of the most significant foci of study of the deferred gratification pattern—the extent to which there is early adoption by those who become upward-mobile of the class patterns of the "higher" classes, a problem given some emphasis in the work of the Warner school.

⁷ St. Clair Drake and H. R. Cayton, *Black Metropolis*, New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1945, pp. 562-3. See also, *ibid.*, pp. 559-562. Pertinent statements or incidental comments bearing directly or indirectly upon the deferred gratification pattern or its absence, will be found, *ibid.* pp. 523, 586, 590, 592, 608, 661-2, 690, 692, 705, 714.

aspects of this upper class view of the lower class pattern of life. The relevance of the description to the deferred gratification pattern is unmistakable. An earlier study by Davis and Dollard,⁸ likewise of classes within a Negro community, is also highly pertinent and constituted perhaps the most immediate inspiration to the undertaking of the research reported in this paper. The present writers proceeded on the assumption that the Davis-Dollard study might be illuminating for (at least American) class structure in general, despite its formal concern with classes in the Negro community alone. The study indicated that "impulse-following" (with minimal deferment or renunciation of "impulses" or gratifications) was characteristic of lower class Negroes and "impulse-renunciation" (or deferment of impulse-gratification) characteristic of middle class Negroes in "Old City" in the South. The study is more insightful than rigorous, and there are undoubtedly difficulties with its categorizations of class itself. Nevertheless, we may construct from it a useful listing under the general caption of the class patterning of deferred gratification. This listing served as a starting-point in our own research. The lower-class-characteristic "impulse-following" (absence of deferred gratification pattern) involves: relative readiness to engage in physical violence, free sexual expression (as through intercourse), minimum pursuit of education, low aspiration level, failure of parents to identify the class of their children's playmates, free spending, little emphasis on being "well-mannered and obedient," and short-time dependence on parents. On the other hand, the middle-class-characteristic "impulse-renunciation" (presence of deferred gratification pattern) involves the reverse of these traits: relative reluctance to engage in physical violence, and the like.

Admittedly, this is a rough listing and leaves us still far from a thoroughly comprehensive specification of the deferred gratification pattern. Some of the items may appear equivocal. For example, identification of class of playmates by parents perhaps does not carry on the face of it the reason

⁸ A. Davis and J. Dollard, *Children of Bondage*, Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1940.

for its inclusion. But it is conceived that such identification implies a concern for the maintenance of certain standards and a fear lest they be jeopardized by the contamination of "unfortunate" associations. Some items mentioned by Davis and Dollard are omitted from the list. Thus, reference is made to the "reliable middle class conscience" by contrast with the "less reliable" lower class conscience.⁹ This is at a somewhat different level of abstraction from the other traits and activities noted and not so easy to handle in the type of research to be reported, and it has therefore been omitted. Finally, following Davis and Dollard, the listing tends to focus on children, but the implications plainly extend beyond them alone.

Although nothing like exhaustive documentation of the consideration of the deferred gratification pattern by sociologists has been attempted, and although we have not sought to offer anything like a finished specification of the pattern itself, the above is perhaps sufficient to suggest that the pattern deserves systematic investigation and that it is time to co-ordinate the bits of research endeavor that have been directed toward its study. The following preliminary and partially reported research is designed to do no more than make an appropriate step forward.

THE RESEARCH

The data utilized for the present research are based on a representative sample of 2500 high school students. This is drawn from a larger nation-wide sample of some 15,000 high school students.¹⁰ Although the sample, as stated, is "representative," it is not representative of all the nation's teenagers, only of the high school population.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 119 and 133.

¹⁰ The data were obtained through the Purdue Opinion Panel, Poll Number 32, administered by the Division of Educational Reference at Purdue University, Indiana. The Purdue nation-wide sample of 15,000 is fairly representative of the total high school population in the country in such factors as sex, rural-urban residence, religion, political affiliation, level of education of mothers, and house and home characteristics. The smaller sample of 2500 which we utilize has been stratified according to geographical region and grade in school, but strictly randomized from the total return of 15,000 with respect to the other characteristics listed above.

In an investigation dealing with differential responses among *social classes*, it is, of course, of particular importance that our sample is more homogeneously middle class than the total population of high school age. The homogeneity of the sample produces an underestimate of the class differentials in the population at large. The sample does not extend adequately into the lower rungs of the stratification ladder. This probable under-representation of the lower class should serve to increase confidence in the trends actually observed.

Subjects were asked to check one of twelve occupational classes, designating the one most similar to the occupation of their fathers. These twelve occupational classifications were grouped into four occupational classes according to degree of supervisory power over "lower" occupations and independence of supervisory control from "higher" occupations. The four occupational classes follow: *Class 1. Independent Occupations* (including executives, directors, owners of business or farm, doctors, lawyers, bankers, ministers, professors, consulting engineers); *Class 2. Dependent Occupations Involving Skill and Supervision or Manipulation of Others* (including supervisors, foremen, technical engineers in industrial employment, sales workers, agents, clerks or secretaries in small businesses, teachers, nurses, preachers, reporters, public officials, entertainers); *Class 3. Dependent Occupations Involving Skill but Little Supervision or Manipulation of Others* (including skilled and semi-skilled workers and workers in industrial employment); *Class 4. Dependent Occupations Involving Little Skill and Little Supervision or Manipulation of Others* (including assembly line workers, laborers, janitors, farm workers, road workers, miners, drivers).

These occupational classes are admittedly not internally homogeneous in respect to such class criteria as "income," "prestige" or "social equality." It was intended that the classification be independent of such criteria, which at their face value might be contingent upon a certain way of life. The variable, the deferred gratification pattern (DGP), which is to be related to class affiliation is itself at least an important element of a "way of life," and we wished to avoid as far as possible the danger of

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obtaining an association between "class" and "response" that might turn out to be in considerable part tautological.¹¹

The writers have emphasized that the occupational "classes" are not "social classes" in the sense of comprising people with clearly "common" interests, or with "class consciousness." In order to get a more "subjective" classification of our subjects we also asked them to choose one of four class designations as the one most fitting for themselves and their families: the "upper class," the "middle class," the "working class," and the "lower class."¹²

TABLE 1. CLASS SELF-IDENTIFICATION OF FOUR OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES*

| Occupational Classes | Self-Identification | | Total |
|-------------------------------|---------------------|-----------|-------|
| | "Middle" | "Working" | |
| 1. Independent | 80 | 20 | 100 |
| 2. Dependent, manipulative | 75 | 25 | 100 |
| 3. Dependent, skilled | 63 | 37 | 100 |
| 4. Dependent, unskilled | 50 | 50 | 100 |

* Figures in percentages. Differences are significant beyond the 1 per cent level.

It proved feasible, however, to use only "middle" and "working" class self-identifications, assimilating the very few other responses to these.

¹¹ This points to a danger that, in general, constantly besets current class research. For example, Hollingshead's proposition that there is a functional relation between the class position of the family of an adolescent and his "social behavior" in his community (*Elmtown's Youth*, p. 441) would be more impressive if the rating procedure Hollingshead originally relies upon did not allow for the possibility that the adolescent's social behavior itself enters as an element into the determination of the class position of his family.

¹² The procedure is borrowed from Richard Centers, *The Psychology of Social Classes*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949, Ch. VI. The middle class bias of our sample is indicated by the high frequency of "middle class" self-identification (about two-thirds of the subjects so identifying themselves), compared to Centers' figure for his national, male, white sample (less than one-half of the subjects identifying themselves as "middle class"). The relationship between the two classifications may be of some interest and is shown. (Since very few of our subjects marked "lower class" and "upper class" as their choice, the few "lower class" responses have been added to the "working class" category, and the "upper class" responses to the "middle class" category.)

The poll included twenty-eight DGP-related questions. It is impossible to present all of the results here or to give them full statistical exploration. We can only affirm that our results generally give good support to the hypothesis that a class-related DGP pattern exists, *especially when the self-identification index of class is used*. Beyond this mere affirmation, we can present some selected results that are of considerable interest. Fairly typical results emerge if we follow the listing of patterns described by Davis and Dollard, and the discussion following is confined to these.

Physical Violence. The poll results show that the students who identify themselves with the "working class" report in a slightly higher proportion than those who identify themselves with the "middle class" that they have had one or more fights recently (differences significant at the 5 per cent level), that they have seen adult fights recently (differences not significant at the 5 per cent level), and that they prefer to "settle matters right away" rather than "let their temper quiet down" first (differences significant at the 1 per cent level). Slight differences are also found among the occupational classes in respect to the same questions, the lower occupational classes giving the above responses more frequently than the higher ones. The magnitude of the differences is in no case impressive, however, and we consider that these results give only slight support to the Davis-Dollard observations, as far as the occupational differentiations go.

Free Sexuality. The polling technique is not the best one for studying the sexual behavior of high school children. The poll questions had to be formulated rather vaguely because of prevalent attitudes regarding sexual matters in our high schools, and they failed to yield any clues to class differences in sexual behavior. The writers believe this failure to be accidental; it is certainly not definitive.

Marked Pursuit of Education. Data relating to education are presented in Tables 2 and 3.

The limitations of the data of Tables 2 and 3 are evident and need no special comment. The results are nevertheless in conformity with the DGP hypothesis, although

TABLE 2. PLANS AFTER GRADUATION FROM HIGH SCHOOL OF STUDENTS FROM DIFFERENT SOCIAL CLASSES*

| Class Index | Plans | | | Total |
|----------------------------|--|---|--|-------|
| | To go to college or take special training other than college | To go to work, enlist in military service, or "other plans" | | |
| Self-Identification | | | | |
| "Middle" | 56 | 44 | | 100 |
| "Working" | 42 | 58 | | 100 |
| Occupational Class | | | | |
| 1 | 62 | 38 | | 100 |
| 2 | 61 | 39 | | 100 |
| 3 | 48 | 52 | | 100 |
| 4 | 32 | 68 | | 100 |

* Figures in percentages. The chi square test shows that differences are significant beyond the 1 per cent level for both class indices.

obviously they do not give conclusive proof of it.¹³

High Aspiration Level. Students were asked on a list of twelve occupations (ranging from high to low in terms of income

and prestige) to check those which they considered "not good enough" for their own life work. The higher the number thus checked the higher the occupational aspirations of the students. Table 4 summarizes relevant data.

Identification of Class of Playmates by Parents. On the item, "My parents have definite ideas about what my friends should be like," there are small differences (not significant at the 5 per cent level) among the classes, the parents in the higher classes being reported to be more concerned about friends of children. The students themselves, however, seem to differ in respect to concern with the family backgrounds of their friends. Thus, 66 per cent of those

TABLE 3. EXPECTATION OF GRADUATION FROM HIGH SCHOOL AMONG STUDENTS OF DIFFERENT SOCIAL CLASSES*

| Class Index | Expectations of Graduation | | | Total |
|----------------------------|-------------------------------|--|--|-------|
| | Definitely expect to graduate | Do not expect to graduate or will only "probably" graduate | | |
| Self-Identification | | | | |
| "Middle" | 80 | 20 | | 100 |
| "Working" | 70 | 30 | | 100 |
| Occupational Class | | | | |
| 1 | 82 | 18 | | 100 |
| 2 | 82 | 18 | | 100 |
| 3 | 76 | 24 | | 100 |
| 4 | 68 | 32 | | 100 |

* Figures in percentages. The chi square test shows that differences are significant beyond the 1 per cent level for both class indices.

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TABLE 4. OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS BY SOCIAL CLASSES*

| Class Index | Median number of occupations checked as "Not Good Enough" |
|----------------------------|---|
| Self-Identification | |
| "Middle" | 5.4 |
| "Working" | 4.8 |
| Occupational Class | |
| 1 | 5.4 |
| 2 | 5.3 |
| 3 | 5.2 |
| 4 | 4.9 |

* The difference between the medians is significant at the 1 per cent level in the case of the classes of self-identification. The median for the lowest occupational class is smaller than any of the medians of the other classes by a statistically significant amount. The differences of the medians for the upper occupational classes are not statistically significant.

who identify themselves with the "middle" class and 56 per cent of those who identify themselves with the "working" class (differences significant at the 1 per cent level) say that they "enjoy being together with friends who come from families at least as nice and successful as my own, rather than being together with just anybody."¹⁴

¹⁴ On this same item, there is an opposite, although not statistically significant, tendency among the occupational groups.

TABLE 5. SPENDING PREFERENCES AMONG HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS OF DIFFERENT SOCIAL CLASSES*

| Class Index | Responses to the question "If you won a big prize, say two thousand dollars, what would you do?" | | |
|----------------------------|---|-----------------|-------|
| | Spend most of it right away | Save most of it | Total |
| Self-Identification | | | |
| "Middle" | 27 | 73 | 100 |
| "Working" | 32 | 68 | 100 |
| Occupational Class | | | |
| 1 | 23 | 77 | 100 |
| 2 | 28 | 72 | 100 |
| 3 | 31 | 69 | 100 |
| 4 | 34 | 66 | 100 |

* Figures in percentages. The chi square test shows differences are significant beyond the 1 per cent level for both class indices.

Free Spending. Relevant data are shown in Tables 5 and 6.

TABLE 6. SPENDING HABITS AMONG PARENTS OF HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS FROM DIFFERENT SOCIAL CLASSES*

| Class Index | Agree | Disagree | Total |
|----------------------------|-------|----------|-------|
| Self-Identification | | | |
| "Middle" | 28 | 72 | 100 |
| "Working" | 43 | 57 | 100 |
| Occupational Class | | | |
| 1 | 16 | 84 | 100 |
| 2 | 32 | 68 | 100 |
| 3 | 39 | 61 | 100 |
| 4 | 45 | 55 | 100 |

* Figures in percentages. The chi square test shows differences are significant beyond the 1 per cent level for both class indices.

Being Well-Mannered and Obedient. This trait, or complex of traits, was examined only in the specific matter of table manners. Table 7 shows the pertinent data for the classes of self-identification but omits the data for occupational classes, for which there was no clear trend.

Prolonged Dependence on Parents. This was examined through the single indicator

TABLE 7. CONCERN FOR TABLE MANNERS AMONG PARENTS OF HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS FROM DIFFERENT SOCIAL CLASSES*

| Class Index | Responses to question, "How would your parents feel if you rested your elbows on the table while eating and talked with your mouth full?" | | |
|----------------------------|---|---|-------|
| | They would object | They would object a little or wouldn't mind | Total |
| Self-Identification | | | |
| "Middle" | 74 | 26 | 100 |
| "Working" | 67 | 33 | 100 |

* Figures in percentages. The chi square test shows differences are significant beyond the 1 per cent level.

of savings for children, and our results are shown in Table 8.

TABLE 8. SAVINGS FOR CHILDREN AMONG PARENTS OF STUDENTS FROM DIFFERENT SOCIAL CLASSES*

| Class Index | Students think that parents have saved money to give them a start in life. | | |
|----------------------------|--|----|-------|
| | Yes | No | Total |
| Self-Identification | | | |
| "Middle" | 82 | 18 | 100 |
| "Working" | 70 | 30 | 100 |
| Occupational Class | | | |
| 1 | 86 | 14 | 100 |
| 2 | 81 | 19 | 100 |
| 3 | 75 | 25 | 100 |
| 4 | 71 | 29 | 100 |

* Figures in percentages. The chi square test shows differences are significant beyond the 1 per cent level for both class indices.

There is little point in elaborating the many qualifications on the significance in relation to the DGP of the above data. The professional sociologist can supply some of these for himself, but it appears obvious that the DGP is worthy of systematic research.

DISCUSSION

It is appropriate to add a few suggestions and questions relating to the theoretical significance of the pattern.

(1) The pattern may turn out to have major significance for the "problem of order." Are there certain "advantages," certain socio-psychological "gains," that the so-called lower class has? It seems worthwhile to investigate the view that the lower class does have such advantages and reaps the "pleasures" of following impulse and not "deferring." Discounting the future, taking the cash and letting the credit go, disavowing major and worrisome self-disciplines, lower class persons may conceivably have a certain contentment that keeps them attached to an existing social order even when, from the point of view of other classes, they "live like animals."¹⁵

(2) The pattern carries implications re-

¹⁵ Perhaps the most fertile suggestions on this point have come from John Dollard, in his *Caste and Class in a Southern Town*, New York: Harper and Bros., 1949, esp. Ch. XVII.

garding middle class sensitivity to failure to realize rewards if the pattern is carried out uselessly. Fromm has contended, in other terminology, that disappointment and bitterness over the very slight results achieved from adherence to the DGP among lower middle class persons in Germany after World War I were of considerable force in helping Nazism to power. "If the savings of many years, for which one had sacrificed so many little pleasures, could be lost through no fault of one's own, what was the point in saving anyway?"¹⁶ Here again we have relevance to the problem of order. It is an old and familiar contention that jobless intellectuals are a threat to any existing social system. In more general terms, to what extent does the failure of the DGP to "pay off" mean a revolutionary reaction, or perhaps merely a private neurotic reaction? And to what extent does the pattern have functional autonomy, so that while it may have had some initial partial motivation, at any rate, in considerations of expediency alone, it cannot be sloughed off and another way of life adopted at will even when it might be convenient to be able to do the latter?

(3) In view of recent interest in class mobility, it may be suggested that one fruitful line of inquiry relates to the reaction of lower class individuals toward the incipient manifestation of tendencies toward the DGP on the part of others who are lower class. Would it be possible to develop a typology on pertinent lines? We may speculate that the following types of reactions would appear: (a) A reaction of lack of comprehension, conceivably rooting at times in lack of sympathy. "What's the point of this sort of behavior?" One goes out at fourteen or thereabouts to make a living, and no fuss about it. Anything else is not understandable. This sort of reaction may well require a rather firmly stabilized lower class tradition, not susceptible to the blandishments held out, for example, by higher education. (b) A "humble" reaction. "This education business (for example) isn't for the likes of me." Here we might well anticipate anger at others from the same class because of their "pretensions." (c) A derisive reaction,

¹⁶ Erich Fromm, *Escape from Freedom*, New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1941, p. 214.

on the line, "You're a sissy to study, to save, to defer."

The above can only claim to be suggestions. They are deliberately neither sys-

tematic nor comprehensive. But they point to issues which are bound to come to the fore if sociologists address themselves to serious study of the DGP.

INSTABILITIES IN STATUS: THE PROBLEM OF HIERARCHY IN THE COMMUNITY STUDY OF STATUS ARRANGEMENTS *

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DURING the last decade, many objections have been raised against existing conceptions of social stratification.¹ While it is certainly to the credit of the Warner group that it has elicited such carefully considered and often trenchant discussions of social stratification, it is scarcely to the credit of the critics that so little research has been based upon their many well-taken criticisms. In their eagerness to disclose shortcomings in every phase of inquiry—methodological, conceptual, statistical, and ideological—the critics, with few exceptions, have only hinted at guidelines for future research.²

Beneath the controversy probably lie cer-

tain "cultish" or "professional-ideological" commitments which, in their lack of appropriateness to the argument, further obfuscate our view of the nature of social stratification. It is not the purpose of this paper to scrutinize such commitments, but we would like to join our complaint with that of David Riesman, who has commented that "all the arguments which go on so tiresomely . . . between Warner and the Marxists seem . . . an argument as to which status system runs the country, when, in fact, neither does."³ Specifically, this paper questions: (1) the adequacy of conceiving status groups as comprising the basic units of the social order; (2) the fruitfulness of conceiving status groupings as hierarchically arranged in the structural analysis of status stratification; and (3) the appropriateness of a hierarchical conception of *status arrangement*⁴ for facilitating the study of social process.

This is not to say that the long and, at times, heated discussion has gone for naught, because it has served to isolate the principal areas of methodological confusion confronting sociological investigation into problems of social stratification. These have been summarized and commented upon elsewhere,⁵ but three of them need to be spelled

* This study is part of a larger research project sponsored by the Michigan State College Agricultural Experiment Station. The authors are indebted to Joel Smith for a critical reading of the manuscript.

¹ The critical analyses in this period of stratification theory and research were undoubtedly initiated by C. Wright Mills' appraisal of W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, *The Social Life of a Modern Community* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942) in *American Sociological Review*, VII (April, 1942), pp. 263-271.

² Numbered among the exceptions would be Paul K. Hatt and Milton M. Gordon. See Paul K. Hatt, "Social Stratification in the Mass Society," *American Sociological Review*, XV (April, 1950), pp. 216-222; and Milton M. Gordon, "A System of Social Class Analysis," *The Drew University Bulletin*, XXXIX (August, 1951), pp. 3-19. The citation of these references does not imply that either contribution is accepted here without qualification. Specifically, the application of Hatt's paradigm for the study of the mass society—presumably based upon Weber's distinctions among the social, economic, and political orders of stratification—may be shown to violate the logic of Weber's analysis. As far as Gordon's excellent contribution is concerned, the unqualified view of social stratification as hierarchical in nature is a view to which this article takes exception.

³ David Riesman, "Some Observations Concerning Marginality," *Phylon*, XII (Second Quarter, 1951), p. 117.

⁴ The answer to this question is anticipated in the choice of terms. The term "arrangement" has been selected primarily because such alternatives as "system" or "structure" imply closure (although on different levels of analysis).

⁵ Paul K. Hatt, *op. cit., passim*; and Milton M. Gordon, *op. cit., passim*. See also Llewellyn Gross, "The Use of Class Concepts in Sociological Research," *American Journal of Sociology*, LIV (March, 1949); and, for a more empirical critique,

out here, for they designate areas within which the methodological decisions circumscribing the applicability of the observations that follow have been made.

(1) *Levels of analysis.* If we may combine the suggestions of Form and Kaufman, it becomes clear that the study of social stratification may proceed upon any of four levels of analysis: that of the larger society, the community, institutions, or the interpersonal level.⁶ This inquiry is primarily focused upon the level of community organization, although, from time to time, comments will be made concerning the implications of social status both for the larger social organization and special institutions. It would seem, too, that our discussion is particularly appropriate for the study of status arrangements in modern urban communities. Hopefully our observations will have ultimate bearing on the larger sociological problem of urban life, *viz.*, how consensus and communication are achieved in situations which foster social heterogeneity.

(2) *Dimensions of analysis.* Although some researchers in the area of social stratification still regard that phenomenon as a pervasive, integrating, and inclusive structure with respect to community organization, there seems to be a growing agreement among sociologists that social stratifications may be apprehended as co-existing in community organization along the lines suggested by Max Weber's proposed social, economic, and political orders. Such a multi-dimensional view of social stratification is especially appropriate for the study of social structure in urban communities. This view is accepted here. In addition, the dis-

George Simpson, "Class Analysis: What Class is Not," *American Sociological Review*, IV (December, 1939), pp. 827-835.

⁶ William H. Form, "Stratification in Low and Middle Income Housing Areas," *Journal of Social Issues*, VII (1951), p. 110; and Harold F. Kaufman, "An Approach to the Study of Urban Stratification," *American Sociological Review*, XVII (August, 1952), p. 432. The problem of "levels of analysis" remains very much in need of the sociologists' careful attention. Levels of analysis are not only confused by the empirical researchers, but also by their critics. An example of such confusion may be found in the otherwise provocative critique by Seymour M. Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, "Social Status and Social Structure: A Re-Examination of Data and Interpretations," *British Journal of Sociology*, II (June, 1951), p. 163.

cussion is limited to considerations of the social order, i.e., *social status*.

(3) *Conceptions of social stratification.* Many sociologists who have turned their attention to the study of social stratification have distinguished between its subjective and objective conceptualization. These writers undoubtedly have drawn upon the relatively early contribution of Paul Mombert.⁷ However, by stressing the necessity of employing both conceptions in analysis, recent discussions of social stratification bear witness to the fact that Mombert's dichotomy does not present exclusive alternatives.⁸ Accordingly, both objective and subjective aspects of social status are explored in this paper.

In short, this paper is primarily concerned with the study of social status in its subjective and objective aspects on the level of community organization.

PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS

By status, we refer to social honor as its signs and symbols are differentially distributed among the social groups and aggregates which constitute the social organization of a community. According to this view, then, there are both status *groups* and status *aggregates* (and the former term is not satisfactory for depicting all of the social units of the status order).⁹ A status group is an exclusive unit composed of a number of individuals enjoying approximately the same amount and kind of honor (as indicated by symbols, the deference patterns of others, and a reflected sense of dignity or personal worth) on the basis of their social position in a community. Such groups are communal in nature, and, consequently, their members are in relatively frequent social contact with one another. A status aggregate is an inclusive category referring to a num-

⁷ Paul Mombert, "Class," in the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930, III, pp. 531-36.

⁸ See, for example, Seymour M. Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

⁹ The distinction between groups and aggregates is the usual one. It should be mentioned, however, that one key to the study of the urban community consists in the instrumentalization of both concepts in analysis. Too often have sociologists, caught up in the perennial "nominalist-realist" controversy, seized upon one or the other of these terms to delimit their subject matter.

ber of individuals enjoying approximately the same honor in a community, but who are in potential, capricious, occasional, or sporadic social contact. Probably, the smaller the community, the greater the proportion of its members included in status groups; the larger the community, the greater the proportion of its members included in status aggregates.

Four considerations that have been employed previously in the discussion of status groups are useful for distinguishing the characteristics of such groups from status aggregates:

(1) *Social closure or exclusiveness.* Only status groups are characterized by their intrinsic tendency toward social closure particularly as manifested in connubial and commensal exclusiveness. Such exclusiveness may be largely understood as a response on the part of groups of relatively high status to the emulation directed toward them by members of groups enjoying relatively lower social status.¹⁰ Exclusion and emulation are primary modes of relationship among co-ordinated status groupings in most status arrangements. Whereas social closure is intrinsically generated by status groups, status aggregates can achieve only a limited degree of closure in this manner. For the most part they accomplish closure by default. Specifically, members of status groups peripheral to status aggregates can employ various social devices to prevent themselves from being regarded as members of status aggregates and to prevent members of status aggregates from being regarded as members of the status groups in question. However, such devices are not available to members of status aggregates in the same degree. Consequently, the degree of social closure that status aggregates manage to achieve is, by and large, imposed from without. As a result they assume a more inclusive character.

(2) *Monopolization of appropriate symbols.* By diligent application, one can "pass himself off" as a member of a status aggregate to which he does not objectively belong,

but seldom as a member of another status group. This is because there is a characteristic difference in the control over status symbols exercised by each grouping. Status groups may exercise a virtual monopoly over many symbols of their status through the application or the objective presence of various restrictions.¹¹ Status aggregates may be (often imprecisely) recognized by the appropriate symbols, but their members are limited in the means available to them for restricting their use. As a result, status symbols are more often adequate "tests of status"¹² for status groups than for status aggregates where, on the contrary, status symbols are seldom adequate "tests of status."

(3) *Life-style.* The life styles of these groupings differ greatly in the matter of specificity. In the case of status groups, the relevant life styles are rather closely circumscribed by elaborated moral codes. Too, the status group restricts knowledge of its characteristic life style to its membership by virtue of an intricate and secretive educational process.¹³ As over and against this, knowledge of the life style shared by the members of a status aggregate is often public. Frequently the members of status aggregates are educated into their life style by the mass media of communication. As a result, the relevant nuances of living become diffused and lacking in specificity.

(4) *Solidarity and dignity.* The members of both status groups and aggregates derive a certain solidarity-producing sense of dignity from the way in which they respond to either their positive or negative honor in a community, or to the status arrangement as a whole. However, the specific sense of dignity that membership in a status group

¹¹ These restrictions have been classified by Erving Goffman in his "Symbols of Class Status," *British Journal of Sociology*, II (December, 1951), pp. 294-304.

¹² "Any item of a person's behavior is, therefore, a sign of his social position. A sign of position can be a status symbol only if it is used with some regularity as a means of 'placing' socially the person who makes it. Any sign which provides reliable evidence of its maker's position—whether or not laymen or sociologists use it for evidence about position—may be called a *test of status*." *Ibid.*, p. 295.

¹³ Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, translated by A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons, New York: Oxford University Press, 1947, p. 428.

¹⁰ Hans Gerth and C. Wright Mills (eds.), *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1946, p. 192. There are exceptions to this, for example, the butler who must occasionally remind the master of the house of his place when the barriers of propriety have been transgressed.

entails is reserved to the membership: not so in the case of membership in a status aggregate. The dignity of a particular status aggregate may be "borrowed" in anonymous situations by persons of objectively different status.

It should not be thought that the sense of dignity to which we refer here is always commensurate with objective social honor. Weber has observed that the sense of dignity experienced by the members of status groups may not correspond at all to their position in a status hierarchy:

But even pariah people who are most despised are usually apt to continue cultivating in some manner that which is equally peculiar to ethnic and status communities: the belief in their own social honor.¹⁴

Hughes has singled out "dirty work" as a fruitful point of departure for the study of occupations, the implication being that such work is often rationalized in terms of a special sense of dignity appropriated by those engaged in it.¹⁵ Weber has also observed that the sense of dignity commensurate with a positively privileged status group is anchored in the present and sanctified by the past, while the sense of dignity that transcends the negatively privileged position of a status group is anchored in the future and often contingent upon the fulfillment of a mission.¹⁶ Thus, when the characteristic sense of dignity or personal worth of members of status groups and aggregates is examined with reference to their *objective* status, and gross intransigencies are disclosed, the conditions for what Hughes has termed "status protest"¹⁷ have been established. Where there are great disparities between dignity and *objective* status, a group may reject existing status arrangements and establish itself as a status group outside the ongoing status structure of a community.¹⁸

¹⁴ Gerth and Mills, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

¹⁵ Everett C. Hughes, "Work and the Self," in John H. Rohrer and Muzafer Sherif, *Social Psychology at the Crossroads*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1951, pp. 313-23.

¹⁶ Gerth and Mills, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

¹⁷ Everett C. Hughes, "Social Change and Status Protest: An Essay on the Marginal Man," *Phylon*, X (First Quarter, 1949), pp. 58-65.

¹⁸ This discrepancy is singled out here because we are primarily concerned with social status. The potential for protest is also aggravated by incom-

These and other instabilities in status have often been ignored, the better to perceive what the researcher believes to be the "real" status structure of the community. This is due to the fact that the term "stratification" may be somewhat misleading when it is used to guide the design of sociological research into the status aspects of community life. Usually, a status arrangement (or a "social class system") is regarded as hierarchical by definition, e.g., when it is defined as a "system of rank." By this reasoning, then, if a given status arrangement is not hierarchical, it is not a system of rank, and it is not a "social class system." The research consequence of such an interpretation is all too often one of blaming one's methods of observation, revising them, and ultimately discerning the "real social class system." Put in another way, many stratification researches tend to be self-confirming regarding their relationship to stratification theory. *By subtly fostering the notion of hierarchy, the term "stratification" blinds the investigator to negative cases.*

The most stubborn fact about society is that it changes—and change can scarcely be investigated without some reference to structure. But, unfortunately, structure can be and too often is investigated without reference to change. As a result a certain false sense of timelessness often attaches to the community study of status arrangements. This can be partially offset by applying a teleological perspective to the study of status dynamics. In this sense, the conception of status arrangement suggested here could permit a definition of such arrangements as *essentially* hierarchical in nature. Specifically, one might propose the hypothesis that, *ceteris paribus*, status arrangements will tend over time to take on the aspect of hierarchical structures. It is in this sense, and in this sense only, that the *essential* nature of status arrangements may be said to be hierarchical.¹⁹ Moreover, such hierarchical arrangements may be thought of as being the most

patibilities between power and wealth, power and status, or wealth and status. Certainly the Nazi movement may be explained in considerable part as a response to the disparity between class and status experienced by the German *petite bourgeoisie*.

¹⁹ These remarks draw heavily upon Max Weber's conceptualization of the dynamics of the social order. See, Gerth and Mills, *op. cit.*, pp. 187-190.

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stable forms and other types of arrangements regarded as instabilities (tending toward hierarchy). Yet, this does not imply that status hierarchies are the *normal* forms, or even that they are the *typical* forms. This paper proposes that status groups are variously arranged with reference to one another in different communities, and that status arrangements are often characterized by *typical* instabilities that cannot be conceptualized adequately by the application of the "hierarchy-construct." Instabilities in status may, in fact, be the rule in urban communities rather than the exception. Status arrangements may approach closure as in the case of *structural* systems, they may coexist,²⁰ or they may not exist as *structural* systems at all. Status groups may be ranked or unranked in community status structures. Some members of communities may be accorded social honor and yet not belong to status *groups* at all.²¹ These seeming "anomalies" in the socially structured distribution of status were suggested by persistent obstacles which faced the research team in a community study.

STATUS ARRANGEMENT IN A SMALL MICHIGAN CITY

Research into the social aspects of clothing has been carried on at this institution since the summer of 1950.²² The locale of the study is a small city of approximately

10,000 residents which we shall call Vansburg. A central postulate of the research asserted that clothing functions in social life as a symbol of social status. Since the study was carried on in a community context, schedules were constructed on the expectation that the residents of Vansburg had arranged themselves with respect to differences in social status along the lines suggested by the Warner studies. These schedules were pre-tested in a small city of the same size as Vansburg and were found to be adequate, i.e., the responses "made sense" in terms of Warner's schema. When, however, the schedules were applied to Vansburg, the responses elicited were often incongruous and elusive of ready explanation in the conventional status terminology.²³ This was eventually traced to the fact that our conception of status groups as arranged hierarchically in the organization of community life was erroneous. Status arrangement in Vansburg could not be described as a unidimensional "system of rank."²⁴ Many conditions were responsible for this, but four will be singled out here, since similar conditions may apply in other cities of the same size.

(1) *Status arrangement not clearly reflected in community ecology.* The topography of Vansburg is unusually regular and

²⁰ The content of these responses is not relevant for the present discussion.

²¹ Despite this, our sample of Vansburg was classified according to Warner's Index of Status Characteristics with an adjustment in occupational rating for that community. A comparison of the results with those obtained for other communities by similar methods demonstrates clearly how the researcher can be misled by his own ordering of data. This is true because the "social class" distribution for Vansburg is apparently verified by its comparability with the distributions for Yankee City, Jonesville, and Georgia Town. Actually, as we shall show, the status arrangement in Vansburg does not conform to a hierarchical model at all.

| Social Class | Yankee City (Per cent of Population) | Jonesville (Per cent of Population) | Georgia Town (Per cent of Population) | Vansburg (Per cent of Population) |
|--------------|---|--|--|--------------------------------------|
| Upper | 3.0 | 3.3 | 3.0 | 5.8 |
| Upper-Middle | 10.2 | 12.4 | 14.8 | 13.5 |
| Lower-Middle | 28.1 | 31.3 | 27.6 | 26.9 |
| Upper-Lower | 32.6 | 40.5 | 28.2 | 36.5 |
| Lower-Lower | 25.2 | 12.5 | 26.4 | 17.3 |
| Totals | 99.1* | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

* Some residents of Yankee City were not classified.

devoid of those "natural barriers" and irregularities of terrain which, as has been observed so frequently in the literature, shape the spatial arrangement of social groupings. One area of town was not especially "more desirable" than another.²⁵ The juxtaposition of "good" and "bad" housing seemed to be the dominant pattern in the town. Although the houses of the "old families" had, at one time, clustered along the outer reaches of the main street, with the conversion of that street into a principal east-west highway, many residences had been abandoned and converted into tourist homes. The spatial response of the "old families" who had been displaced in the process had been accomplished without any clear pattern. As a result, the status arrangements of the community were not clearly reflected in its ecological composition. Probably this had the further effect of rendering status arrangements less visible to the residents.

(2) *Lack of adequate "status reputation" for a sizeable segment of the community.* Vansburg had a relatively high proportion of truckers in its male population.²⁶ Since the truckers spent much of their time out of town, there were a considerable number of families, the heads of whose households were more often away than at home. Consequently, the "status reputations" of these families were vaguely conceived by the other members of the community.

(3) *Consensus on status extremes and disagreement in the middle range.* In our effort to adjust occupational ratings so that Warner's Index of Status Characteristics could be used to stratify our sample of the Vansburg population, we selected ten long-term residents of the city from different social levels to rate on a seven point scale the eighty-eight occupations in which the males in the sample were engaged. Assuming that the ratings of these judges did, in fact, represent a

community estimate of the social honor accorded the occupations in question, there was some evidence to suggest that more agreement existed on the matter of rating the very high and very low occupations, while less agreement characterized the ratings of occupations in the middle range. The evidence is best presented by illustration.²⁷ The physician, for example, was an occupation accorded the highest rank by all of the judges. Similarly, the county judge was placed in the highest category by nine of the ten raters. Although agreement on such negatively esteemed occupations as street cleaner, foundry laborer, and truck loader was somewhat less than that for highly esteemed occupations, it was still considerable. All of these occupations were placed in either the sixth or seventh rank by the judges. The disagreement on the matter of occupations receiving a medium average rating stands in sharp contrast. For example, the foundry foreman was assigned ranks ranging from two to seven on the scale, and the small grocer, postal clerk, and mason were each assigned ranks two to six. This lack of consensus on occupations in the middle range of status may partly account for the lack of any clear line of demarcation between the so-called "lower-middle" and "upper-lower" status groupings in the city.

(4) *Invasion of the "cosmopolites."* Certain national manufacturers had singled out Vansburg—a source of low-cost labor—as a site for the location of decentralized assembly plants and warehouses. Managerial personnel employed by these concerns and by various state departments and agencies which had located their district offices in Vansburg,

²⁵ There were, of course, some exceptions, but most of these had to do with the relatively "undesirable" areas. Thus, although it is true that one area of the town was not especially more "desirable" than others, there were some areas next to the railroad tracks, and, unaccountably, along three parallel streets just off the main street and near the houses of a few remaining "old families" that were more "undesirable" than others.

²⁶ Truckers comprise 5.4 per cent of about 2700 employed males in Vansburg.

²⁷ Numerous methodological shortcomings obviate the possibility of presenting these data in a statistical fashion. Thus, any statistical measure of disagreement will be affected by the nature of the scale. Specifically, the probability of disagreement in the middle range is *de facto* greater than the probability of disagreement at the extremes of the scale. Moreover, the application of such measures of deviation as the standard deviation involves the untenable assumption that ordinal ratings may be treated as cardinal numbers. It would be most helpful if sociologists engaged in future rating studies would take these things into account by either (a) asking judges to estimate the degree of confidence they have about each rating, (b) timing each rating, or (c) noting down each afterthought shift in placement. We are indebted to Duane Gibson and Joel Smith for these suggestions.

the county seat, had taken up residence in the city. Thus, managerial personnel in significant numbers had been recruited into the community. They came principally from outlying metropolitan and other large urban centers. Other persons had also come into the community from larger cities. For example, a wealthy urbanite had purchased the local newspaper and established his residence in town. These people did not accept either the conventional symbols or the conventional norms of status held by the members of the community prior to their arrival.

It is this invasion of the "cosmopolites," together with the lack of community consensus about the ascription of social honor that commands the major focus of our interest. The "cosmopolites" were oriented in their life style primarily to the sophisticated, blasé, and busy life of the metropolis. Immediately these people joined together and made status claims that called into question the status of the "old families" of the community. Rather than attempting to achieve social honor by emulating the life style of the entrenched "upper classes," the members of this group imposed their own symbols upon the social life of Vansburg and established themselves as a separate status group. They appeared publicly in casual sport clothes, exploited images of "bigness" in their conversations with established local business men, retired late, and slept late. With all the aspects of a *coup*, they "took over" the clubs and associations of the "old families." The Country Club, for example, has undergone a complete alteration of character. Once the scene of relatively staid dinners, polite drinking, and occasional dignified balls, the Country Club is now the setting for the "businessman's lunch," intimate drinking, and frequent parties where the former standards of moral propriety are often somewhat relaxed for the evening. Most "old families" have let their memberships in the club lapse.²⁸ Moreover, in the

attempt to consolidate their appropriated status, a group of the "cosmopolite set" has purchased a large section of land just outside the city and reserved it for restricted housing.

The result of this *status contest*²⁹ has been a cleavage in the status structure of Vansburg which extends from the top of the social order down to what Warner would term the "upper-lower class." The cleavage has been conceptualized by many members of the community as a difference between "drinkers" and "non-drinkers."³⁰ Frequently, when our interviewers inquired of the residents of Vansburg whether or not there were any different "social classes" in the town, replies would be prefaced with reference to the "drinking" and the "non-drinking" groups. It was only after several interviews had been taken that the terms were found to refer to a vertical cleavage in the status arrangement and not to different horizontal strata. The difference between the two opposed groups, it should be added, were age-graded, with the young adult group more likely to dedicate its status allegiances to the "cosmopolites" and the older adult group more likely to extend its fealty to the "old families."

Such a vertical cleavage in the status structure of a community may be viewed as an instance of *unstable* status arrangement which may have structural counterparts in many communities throughout the nation. There were also certain consequences for status arrangement, to be discussed later,

1943, pp. 48-54, and 160-162. It is unfortunate that Hughes' observations have not as yet been taken into account in status-stratification theory for there is most certainly a structural parallel between the situation in Vansburg and Cantonville. In this respect, the phrase "itinerant managers" may be somewhat misleading, for, although the personnel of the group may change relatively rapidly, their social positions will probably become a fixed part of the community structure.

²⁸ Too often theories of status stratification have deservedly been labelled conservative and static, and those of class stratification, revolutionary and dynamic. This is partially due to the emphasis upon *emulation* and *consensus* by the theorists of *status stratification* and the emphasis upon *conflict* and *dissensus* by the theorists of *class stratification*.

²⁹ This was merely the way the townspeople conceptualized the schism. It had little to do with whether or not the people referred to drank. Rather, it was how they drank—the difference between the "standing drinkers" and the "sitting drinkers."

²⁸ The "old families" have, as a matter of fact, chosen one club as a last bastion of defense against the "upstart" invasion. Significantly, membership in that club is no longer accorded social honor by a relatively large segment of residents. Everett Hughes has pointed out to one of the authors in conversation the similarity of these events to those precipitated by the "itinerant managerial group" in Cantonville. See Everett C. Hughes, *French Canada in Transition*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press,

which derived from the lack of agreement among the residents of the community about the ascription of social honor to occupational symbols in the middle range. These, together with the vertical cleavage we have described, stand in need of at least preliminary conceptualization.

MODES OF STATUS INSTABILITY

It is not the purpose of this section to present a logically derived typology of structured instabilities in status. Instead, three concrete modes of unstable status arrangement on the level of community organization are considered. It is quite likely that these modes may characterize the relationship of status groupings to one another in many other American communities. Before considering them, it should be observed that, in our view, status arrangements may be said to "range"³¹ from amorphous highly unstable aggregation of status groups, related to one another, if at all, by their physical propinquity,³² to a purely hierarchical stable system of ranked groupings. We choose not to be concerned with either of these limiting cases in this paper. Instead, it is proposed to consider some intermediate common modes of unstable status arrangement.

(1) *Arrangement of status opposition.* The first type of status arrangement is the case in which two or more status groupings are engaged in an indecisive contest for status and consequently exist in a horizontal or oblique relationship to each other rather than in the more frequently observed hierarchical relationship. This type was suggested by the Vansburg study. As we have pointed out, a number of local managers who had been sent to the town by large metropolitan businesses and government agencies retained their own status symbols and engaged the indigenous high status groups in a contest

³¹ This is probably an unwisely selected metaphor, since it implies variation in only one dimension. Such license seems to be partially justified by the preliminary character of this effort.

³² This type is rarely discussed in terms of its implications for stratification theory. For the kind of situation that lends itself to this interpretation, see Ruth Durant, *Watling: A Survey of Social Life on a New Housing Estate*, London: P. S. King and Son, Ltd., 1939, or Leon Festinger, et al., *Social Pressures in Informal Groups*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950.

for status. This situation set the stage for other members of the community to mobilize themselves around alternative sets of symbols, with the result that their status loyalties were divided between the "old families" and the contesting group of "cosmopolites." The impact of this contest extended downward through the middle status groupings which also became divided in their allegiances. In this case the opposition of status groups occurred at a relatively high level in the community structure and extended downward.

It may well be that such opposition and cleavage also occurs at lower status levels of community organization. Thus, although Havighurst and Morgan state that "the social classes of Old Seneca should be thought of as existing side by side with those of the newcomer group, and not as merged with the new and larger groups,"³³ their case is defeated by unmistakable evidence of merger at the higher status levels of the community:

. . . Such social participation as did develop between oldtimers and newcomers was confined largely to people at the top of each social hierarchy. The upper group of Old Seneca quickly formed friendships with the "upper crust" of the newcomers. Houses in which to entertain gave the Old Seneca group a certain attractiveness; while the new group provided "launching parties" with an abundance of navy gold braid. When one of the newcomer group married into an Old Seneca "upper crust" family the event symbolized the social equality and unity of the two groups.³⁴

There is no similar evidence of integration at lower status levels in Seneca. To the contrary, a case of oblique opposition appears to have arisen, for it is reported that the members of the Old Seneca lower status groups apparently viewed all "newcomers" with aversion. One of the "better class" newcomers mentioned being snubbed by a washerwoman from the Old Seneca group:

Seneca folks look down on us! Oh yes, they do. I got a washerwoman promised; she lived

³³ Robert J. Havighurst and H. Gerthon Morgan, *The Social History of a War Boom Community*, New York: Longmans, Green, and Company, 1951, p. 105.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 106. These statements hardly support the hypothesis that the groups in question were related to one another in a condition of hostile or even symbiotic association.

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The cases of Vansburg and Seneca afford concrete evidence of the horizontal and oblique opposition of status groups at either extreme of the social order. Whether there is evidence of clearly dichotomized opposition in the middle ranges of status in community organization, however, remains an open question for further research. Yet this possibility may be evident in the opposition of the "new" and "old" middle-classes on the level of the larger society. If, for example, the Riesman hypothesis of the supersession of "inner-directed character" by "other-directed character" has relevance for the social order, then the society at large may present a case of such opposition. Riesman has put it this way:

If we wanted to cast our social character types into social class molds, we could say that inner-direction is the typical character of the "old" middle class—the banker, the tradesman, the small entrepreneur, the technically oriented engineer, etc.—while other-direction is becoming the typical character of the "new" middle class—the bureaucrat, the salaried employee in business, etc.³⁶

He then goes on to describe the phenomenon as a "characterological struggle."

The class struggle and the characterological struggle overlap. . . . It seems possible that the open class struggle is characteristic of societies in the state of transitional growth—this is the period that Marx lived in and observed in western Europe—while in these same societies in the stage of incipient decline *the social struggle goes on primarily among people of nominally identical class and status positions*, that is among the vastly increased and differentiated middle classes.³⁷

It may well be that this opposition among middle status groups is manifested in local

community status structures. However, the precise way in which this larger "characterological" and "social" struggle is exhibited remains unclear.

Another dimension to this struggle is suggested by the phenomenon of occupational mobility. One of the more potent factors making for the increase in the number and heterogeneity of the American "middle-class" is the relative success of organized labor in the power arena. Among the consequences of this new power definition of labor unions has been the guarantee of status mobility as well as economic gains to its membership. For example, a Chicago labor union in addition to securing an enviable income for the local janitors, is currently addressing its efforts to moving the janitor and his family out of the basement into first floor apartments—a clear status maneuver.³⁸ Surely this move to guarantee higher social status for the janitor will call out resistance from other occupational groups associated with middle status groups or from the "middle class" at large. Similar illustrations of status claims and status opposition are found among other occupational groupings. Perhaps the opposition of status arrangements in the middle range does not manifest itself as a clear total opposition of two competing status groups but as a highly atomized series of status contests among diverse social and economic groups vying for social honor. If this is the case, a different model of status relations may result which we have called "vertical polarization." This is a point to which we shall return.

It would seem that the opposition of relatively equivalent status groups in community settings, as described above, may represent a phase of status accommodation to at least two coexisting social forces, *viz.*, immigration from other communities of distinctly different moral characters; and economic instability reflected, for one thing, in the emergence, disappearance, and mobility of occupations.³⁹ With reference to migra-

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

³⁶ David Riesman, *The Lonely Crowd*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950, p. 21.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 34. Italics ours. The "cosmopolite-old family" struggle in Vansburg has many of the earmarks of this "characterological" struggle.

³⁸ Ray Gold, "The Chicago Flat Janitor," unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Chicago, 1950.

³⁹ This observation is of theoretical consequence at a higher level of generalization. Specifically Max Weber has observed that periods of relative economic stability facilitate the emergence of the *status* order while periods of relative economic instability

tion the events referred to here should, ideally, be distinguished from those that accompany the acculturation of ethnic groups. In the latter case, the newly arrived ethnic group is set apart from the status arrangement of the "host" community in the sense that it commands no status allegiance from the native residents. In pure instances of status opposition, the allegiances of the community itself become divided. There is a point, however, at which the influence of ethnicity upon the character of community status arrangements is difficult to isolate. Whether the southern hill-billy may be best regarded as a status or ethnic group is most difficult to decide.⁴⁰ Also, in the case of Cantonville, ethnicity mediated the status arrangement at every turn. Here status opposition was quite clearly structured by ethnic differences.⁴¹

(2) *Arrangement of vertical polarization.* One of the logical and methodological difficulties in locating genuine instances of horizontal opposition among the middle status groups of a community derives from the fact that where such cases are found they verge over into another mode of status arrangement: that of vertical polarization. Vertical polarization of status arrangements in local communities may exist when status groups have been precipitated out at the extremes and have become separated by a somewhat amorphous aggregation of persons or atomized social circles sometimes referred to as the "middle-class." Consensus on the boundaries of status at the extremes of the social order and disagreement upon the status limits in the middle reaches of that order are not unique to Vansburg. As Pfautz and Duncan have observed concerning the differential applicability of the technique of "symbolic placement" proposed by the Warner group:

... the "upper-upper" and the "lower-lower" classes are more nearly, in Weber's terms, "status groups" than "social classes." The

bring the *class* structure into dominance. From our cases it appears that economic instability does not always elicit *class* antagonism in Weber's sense. Cf. Gerth and Mills, *op. cit.*, pp. 193-194.

⁴⁰ See, for example, Lewis M. Killian, "The Effect of Southern White Workers on Race Relations in Northern Plants," *American Sociological Review*, XVII (June, 1952), pp. 328.

⁴¹ Hughes, *French Canada in Transition*, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

concept of "closure," which is crucial for the structure of status groups, would seem to have little meaning relative to the "middle" classes; whereas the estate-tendencies at the extremes of the social class configuration as well as the "communal" character of the upper-uppers and the lower-lowers are obvious from the data at hand.⁴²

It is of course the so-called "middle-class" and those who aspire to membership in it, or who identify with it, that have given students of social stratification the greatest difficulty as far as theoretically adequate conceptualization is concerned.⁴³ Although the life style and social character of the "old" and the "new" middle-class may stand in sharp contrast to each other, yet both are "middle-class"—the nominal bailiwick of the lawyer and the filing clerk, the manager and the machinist, the school teacher and the typist. The "middle-class" represents a veritable medley of social positions certainly not characterized by easily specified shared symbols or by consensually integrated roles, and certainly not by tight social closure. Yet the "middle-class" is symbolically distinguishable by both the layman and the sociologist, and a source of self-esteem and dignity to many. If it has no other attribute, it serves as a locus of status achievement and contest which makes the extremes more stable and visible.

Whatever the "middle-class" is, it cannot in most American communities be called a status group. It is rather, a status aggregate. Membership in it is accessible to many within a single generation of effort. Moreover, there is practically no general agreement on the "tests of status" which unambiguously designate a person's identification with it. Instead, an individual may be identified as "middle-class" because he is not

⁴² Harold W. Pfautz and Otis Dudley Duncan, "A Critical Evaluation of Warner's Work in Community Stratification," *American Sociological Review*, XV (April, 1950), p. 212.

⁴³ To explain the "middle-class" identity of the great bulk of the American people cannot be accomplished here. It is part of Ortega's "revolt of the masses," of Riesman's "rise of other-directedness," of Weber's "routinization of charisma," of Burnham's "managerial revolution." Suffice it to say that "middle-class" identity or aspiration is a social psychological datum which necessarily complicates any inquiry into the subjective aspects of social stratification.

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something else, or because he is like everybody else, or because he is "like me."⁴⁴

To complicate the problem further, institutions have emerged in relatively large urban centers specifically dedicated to the task of making it possible for individuals to affect membership in the "middle-class" without actually belonging to status groupings which are recognized as such. Thus, in communities large enough to guarantee relative anonymity to their members in the city center, the cocktail lounge offers a stage *par excellence* where the actors may play roles which, in their estimate, connote a higher social status than their family, occupation, or education warrant.⁴⁵ Department stores and other service establishments perform a similar function. The "middle-class" may in fact, be regarded as a large heterogeneous mass.⁴⁶ In this respect, certainly one of the chief functions of fashion in our society is to facilitate among large segments of the popu-

lation a *subjective* sense of upward mobility which is independent of *objective* mobility.⁴⁷

(3) *Unranked Status Groups.* The arrangements of status opposition and vertical polarization are complicated by the existence of what may be designated as "unranked status groups." Unranked status groups owe their distinctive character to the fact that they are not an integral part of the community status structure, whatever that type happens to be. Yet their presence is vital to explain some of the mechanisms of change which occur in the status structure of the community. The unranked status group is always a group, but it is unique because its members have rejected in greater or lesser degree the values, symbols, and norms of the larger social order, supplanting them with values, symbols, and norms of their own. Moreover, there is no consensus on the part of all segments of the community on the status location of such groups. Members of unranked status groups may be recruited from any status level of the community, and there remains a vast discrepancy between community evaluation of such groups and their self evaluation. Social types which often identify unranked status groups are intellectuals, artists, revolutionists, Bohemians, and such "isolated" occupational groups as career women, politicians, and others. Such groups abound in the metropolis, and to include their members in the recognized strata of the larger community (e.g., by placing the intellectual in the "middle-class") is not only to obscure their function in the larger status order but also to neglect an important source of social change.

Speier, borrowing a term from Thomas and Znaniecki, speaks of such groups as phenomena of "social revaluation."

. . . a lower class may refuse to participate in the evaluations which are implied in a class system . . . [and] . . . may reject standards and repudiate social images offered from above, developing standards of its own. In

⁴⁴ The authors are currently engaged in a study of tests of status in anonymous urban situations. When the respondents were asked how they identified "middle-class" people in anonymous situations, a content analysis revealed that somewhat over one-half of their responses were vague, indefinite or residual in nature. The remaining one-half of the responses were conspicuously distributed over a wide range of attributes. Of these one-half dealt with identifying marks such as clothing, appearance, manners, cleanliness, and speech. An equal portion of the responses were so randomly distributed as almost to defy meaningful classification.

⁴⁵ These may be called "status platforms" or, as a student of ours, Gerald Cunningham, has observed, "status transformers." A local incident will illustrate this. A young lady had been "picked up" in a tavern identified by the members of the community at large as a "working class tavern." When this same lady's impromptu escort encountered her several months later in an ostensibly "upper-middle class" cocktail lounge in the city center and asked whether he had met her before in the lower status tavern, she replied, "We don't mention those things here." The lady was in fact, a factory worker. It is almost needless to add that the reverse situation can occur; i.e., the vagaries of the middle-mass allow the existence of "status transformers" or "platforms" in a downward direction. Here alienated upper status people can find refuge in lower segments of the status order.

⁴⁶ Kaufman's recommendation that the concept "public", in the sense of a mass audience, be employed in the study of social stratification in the urban community and on the level of the mass society is most apposite. However, it is unfortunate that he selected the concept "public" which is traditionally associated with a common interest or issue-related grouping. See Kaufman, *op. cit.*, p. 433.

⁴⁷ In the Vansburg study, readership of the mass media of communication was found to be more effective in discriminating clothing practices of women than such stand-by factors as social participation. Thus, fashion may be viewed as a genuine mass phenomenon and orientation toward fashion on the part of women may perhaps best be explained in terms of the stratification of masses on the level of the mass society.

such case we have the phenomenon of social *revaluation*, typical of dynamic social structures. The revaluation may be the potential nucleus of a new stratification.⁴⁸

In this sense unranked status groups are at once in and out of the larger social order, but they need not arise only in response to the *negative* social honor they are accorded in the community. In fact, as Hughes has pointed out, protesting groups may arise in response to any status dilemma—to any situation of crucial marginality where dignity is at stake. He states that one possible solution to the problems posed is:

. . . the elaboration of the social system to include a marginal group as an additional category of persons with their own identity and defined position. A number of people of similar marginal position may seek one another's company, and collectively strive to get a place for themselves.⁴⁹

This is not necessarily a conscious process: Sometimes it happens that marginal people establish and live their lives in a marginal group, hardly knowing that they are doing so. There are whole segments of marginal society, with their marginal cultures among various ethnic and religious groups in this country, some of whom even developed a distinguishing speech. . . . In addition, there are other marginal groups who are not quite aware of their marginality, by virtue of living together a somewhat insulated life, but who are, furthermore, made up of people of the most diverse backgrounds; people who have in common, to start with, nothing but their marginality. These are to be found in cities and especially among young people. They are the American Bohemians.⁵⁰

Hence, wherever there is the objective opportunity for incompatibilities in social position, or, subjectively, pervasive moral dilemmas which threaten personal dignity,

⁴⁸ Hans Speier, "Social Stratification in the Urban Community," *American Sociological Review*, I (April, 1936), p. 202.

⁴⁹ Hughes, "Social Change and Status Protest: An Essay on the Marginal Man," *op. cit.*, p. 62.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 62. Both Speier and Hughes suggest the possibility of including a certain type of social movement—what Meadows has called "movements of social withdrawal"—in our category of unranked status groups. To discuss such movements here, however, would overly complicate our presentation. See Paul Meadows, "Movements of Social Withdrawal," *Sociology and Social Research* XXIX (September-October, 1944), pp. 46-50.

unranked status groups may be expected to emerge. We may cite, for example, the disparity that often arises between economic *interests* and status *sentiments*. The "enlightened middle-class" college student, becoming imbued with the interests of the working class and noting their irreconcilability with the sentiments of the status grouping from which he originates, will often seek membership in "Bohemian" and "arty" campus groups. And is not the disparity between his wealth and social status in a sense responsible for the separate social world of the racketeer? Thus, isolation and alienation are other characteristics of the unranked status group.

These examples are enough to underscore the difficulty involved in detecting and isolating unranked status groups by means of the usual criteria of community deference patterns. At best, the deference received by members of unranked status groups is of a highly segmentalized nature. Thus, *avant-garde* writers are respected by their peculiar audiences which, incidentally, are not included in similar status categories. Such respect is seldom appreciated. For example, the jazz musician is accorded the tireless and for him tiresome respect of his audience.⁵¹ Rather, the crucial criterion for detecting the unranked status group would seem to be the fact that the solidarity and dignity of the membership is independent of the deference paid it by any out-group. In the unranked status group, solidarity and dignity is self-contained and, consequently, the group is characterized by an extremely high degree of social closure.

Closure here is most effectively guaranteed by the monopolization of a body of distinctive symbols. The mechanisms by which this monopoly is assured need at least passing comment. Unlike the case of status groupings in the larger "established" social order, the members of unranked status groups seek out symbols that do not necessarily excite the envy of outsiders. Whereas the status of persons caught up in the conventional "social whirl" is in large part dependent upon their ability to display symbols sufficiently *exoteric* to be understood by large segments of

⁵¹ Howard S. Becker, "The Professional Dance Musician and His Audience," *American Journal of Sociology*, LVII (September, 1951), pp. 136-144.

the community, the status of persons in unranked groups hinges in large part upon their ability to employ symbols sufficiently *esoteric* to be understood only by the members of their own social circle. One guarantee of the esotericism rests in the fact that such symbols have, in the past, failed to "catch on" in the larger society or have largely been discarded by conventional status groupings. This is one way in which the works of obscure poets or musical forms that have "run their course" find their way into the symbolic repertoire of the unranked status group. Another reason that the group adopts such obscure objects arises from the fact that its members place greater stress on the intrinsic value of expressive symbols. When the "masterwork" is too scarce or too expensive for them to acquire, they may seek out less known, less expensive, but, for themselves, comparably valuable objects. In such a way "taste" is cultivated to a high degree among the members of many unranked status groups. The cultivation of taste acts as another guarantee of symbolic exclusiveness depending upon the ability of members of unranked status groups to maintain an artistic taste somewhat "in advance" of the taste of the larger community.

In a certain sense, this latter guarantee is a stimulus to the creativity so often characteristic of the unranked status group. For the "democratization of taste" continually robs the group of its distinctive symbols. This fact also affords an important insight into the function of many unranked status groups in contemporary society. They provide the symbols which conventional status groupings utilize to maintain their (relatively high) social positions or which competing groups use to wage their status contests. Thus, they are often related to the larger social order by patronage. Moreover, those unranked groups that function to provide others with symbols of social honor are placed in a peculiarly vulnerable position during such periods of great social instability as revolution. Struggling power groupings coerce the artist and enlist his support to symbolize their particular ideologies. Nor is his role to be viewed merely as that of the propaganda technician. It is much more. The artist by representing, for example, an as-

endant power group to the society as a whole helps it to secure its newly won position by the embellishments of social honor.⁵²

These types do not, of course, exhaust all of the possibilities, and are not mutually exclusive. Each may be found to exist with one or both of the others. Probably the status arrangements found in the metropolis will manifest something of every pattern that has been discussed here. Moreover, there are suggestions of other status arrangements in the literature.⁵³ Nevertheless, this presentation of three modes of status arrangement which have been observed to exist in diverse communities provides a tentative formulation of variations in status arrangements.

CONCLUSIONS

Although Max Weber's theory of social stratification is admittedly fragmentary and incomplete, students of stratification have often proceeded on the assumption that the concept "status group" adequately and exhaustively apprehends the units of the social order. Status groups are communal in nature, but there appear to be other status groupings in modern urban communities which are not characterized by communality. It is suggested that there are stratification aspects to all types of social categories. Specifically, the term "status aggregate" can facilitate the comprehension of urban status problems. It is proposed that status groupings, especially in the middle ranges of social honor, have a

⁵² Thus it seems that the artist is usually the first to feel the coercion of the successful revolutionary movement during its period of retrenchment and consolidation. It is his task to build respect for the new leadership by producing symbols which replace the symbols of the old order. In this sense, every contest of power, in so far as it is a pervasive contest, must manifest itself in a contest of status. For an excellent discussion of this seldom discussed area, see Lipset and Bendix, *op. cit.*, pp. 249-252.

⁵³ For example, Hatt's presentation of staggered overlapping "situs" suggests another possible instability in status, but Hatt, of course, is speaking of status among occupational classes. Whether or not status groupings in communities assume a similar overlapping pattern is impossible to say at this point since almost all research into community status arrangements has proceeded on the assumption of hierarchy. See, Paul K. Hatt, "Occupation and Social Stratification," *American Journal of Sociology*, LV (May, 1950), pp. 533-543.

mass aspect that must be taken into account in the stratification literature.⁵⁴

One of the reasons for the gaps in status theory may be traced to the theoretical constrictions intrinsic to the concept of stratification. The conception of status groupings as hierarchically arranged limits the application of general sociological theory in this area. This paper proposes that the notion of status, class, and power *arrangements* be substituted for analogous hierarchical conceptions. Several empirical and hypothetical models of status arrangement have been suggested as an aid for understanding the structure and process of status phenomena in the urban community. These models have been subsumed under the category *instabilities in status*. Consequently, their application in research demands that the investigator attend to the social processes they promote or engender.

The implications of the above for theory and research are manifold. Theoretical models of status arrangements on the community, institutional, and societal levels must be carefully constructed. Empirical research dedicated to explore the conditions under which such models are approached must be carefully designed. By analyzing the interplay between the theoretical types and the empirical realities of status arrangement, the investigator will be able to formulate new propositions to explain the processes by which such status arrangements emerge and change.

⁵⁴ The conception of mass employed here may be found in Herbert Blumer's "Collective Behavior," in Alfred McClung Lee (ed.), *New Outline of the Principles of Sociology*, New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1951, pp. 185-189.

The study of the social processes inherent in stratification phenomena constitutes at the same time a serious lag and a great opportunity for the development of sociological theory. Such a development must of necessity bring into focus certain aspects of the social structure heretofore considered to be of only tangential relevance for stratification theory. Studies of change within the context of social stratification have usually been limited to the matter of whether class lines have become more or less sharply defined over a given period of time. To pose this question is to obscure more than its answer can possibly reveal, for the significant problem may concern the nature of the "class lines" themselves or the modes of arrangement of stratification groupings. Besides, the structural origins of such changes cannot be adequately discerned by studying such a problem. The necessity of bringing our knowledge of collective behavior to bear on the study of social stratification is patent.

Although this article has limited itself to the study of status arrangements on the community level, its implications have bearing upon other orders of stratification. Certainly sociological theory is circumscribed by hierarchical conceptions of the economic and political orders. The analysis of *arrangement* in these spheres promises even a more fertile field of inquiry. After a preliminary theory of class, status, and power arrangements has been derived which embraces some of the considerations discussed in this paper, the discipline will be ready to attack the major problem of the relationship among stratification arrangements on the community and societal levels.

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION AND PSYCHIATRIC DISORDERS

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THE research reported here grew out of the work of a number of men, who, during the last half century, have demonstrated that the social environment in which individuals live is connected in some way, as yet not fully explained, to the development of mental illness.¹ Medical men have approached this problem largely from the viewpoint of epidemiology.² Sociologists, on the other hand, have analyzed the ques-

tion in terms of ecology,³ and of social disorganization.⁴ Neither psychiatrists nor sociologists have carried on extensive research into the specific question we are concerned with, namely, interrelations between the class structure and the development of mental illness. However, a few sociologists and psychiatrists have written speculative and research papers in this area.⁵

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¹ For example, see, A. J. Rosanoff, *Report of a Survey of Mental Disorders in Nassau County, New York*, New York: National Committee for Mental Hygiene, 1916; Ludwig Stern, *Kulturreis und Form der Geistigen Erkrankung*, (Sammlung Zwanglosen Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der Nerven-und-Geisteskrankheiten), X, No. 2, Halle a. S.C. Marhold, 1913, pp. 1-62; J. F. Sutherland, "Geographical Distribution of Lunacy in Scotland," *British Association for Advancement of Science*, Glasgow, Sept. 1901; William A. White, "Geographical Distribution of Insanity in the United States," *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease*, XXX (1903), pp. 257-279.

² For example, see: Trygve Braatoy, "Is it Probable that the Sociological Situation is a Factor in Schizophrenia?" *Psychiatrica et Neurologica*, XII (1937), pp. 109-138; Donald L. Gerard and Joseph Siegel, "The Family Background of Schizophrenia," *The Psychiatric Quarterly*, 24 (January, 1950), pp. 47-73; Robert W. Hyde and Lowell V. Kingsley, "Studies in Medical Sociology, I: The Relation of Mental Disorders to the Community Socio-economic Level," *The New England Journal of Medicine*, 231, No. 16 (October 19, 1944), pp. 543-548; Robert W. Hyde and Lowell V. Kingsley, "Studies in Medical Sociology, II: The Relation of Mental Disorders to Population Density," *The New England Journal of Medicine*, 231, No. 17 (October 26, 1944), pp. 571-577; Robert M. Hyde and Roderick M. Chisholm, "Studies in Medical Sociology, III: The Relation of Mental Disorders to Race and Nationality," *The New England Journal of Medicine*, 231, No. 18 (November 2, 1944), pp. 612-618; William Malamud and Irene Malamud, "A Sociopsychiatric Investigation of Schizophrenia Occurring in the Armed Forces," *Psychosomatic Medicine*, 5 (October, 1943) pp. 364-375; B. Malzberg, *Social*

and Biological Aspects of Mental Disease, Utica, N. Y.: State Hospital Press, 1940; William F. Roth and Frank H. Luton, "The Mental Health Program in Tennessee: Statistical Report of a Psychiatric Survey in a Rural County," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 99 (March, 1943), pp. 662-675; J. Ruesch and Others, *Chronic Disease and Psychological Invalidism*, New York: American Society for Research in Psychosomatic Problems, 1946; J. Ruesch and others, *Duodenal Ulcer: A Socio-psychological Study of Naval Enlisted Personnel and Civilians*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1948; Jurgen Ruesch, Annemarie Jacobson, and Martin B. Loeb, "Acculturation and Illness," *Psychological Monographs: General and Applied*, Vol. 62, No. 5, Whole No. 292, 1948 (American Psychological Association, 1515 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington 5, D. C.); C. Tietze, Paul Lemkau and M. Cooper, "A Survey of Statistical Studies on the Prevalence and Incidence of Mental Disorders in Sample Populations," *Public Health Reports*, 1909-27, 58 (December 31, 1943); C. Tietze, P. Lemkau and Marcia Cooper, "Schizophrenia, Manic Depressive Psychosis and Social-Economic Status," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLVII (September, 1941), pp. 167-175.

³ Robert E. L. Faris, and H. Warren Dunham, *Mental Disorders in Urban Areas*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939; H. Warren Dunham, "Current Status of Ecological Research in Mental Disorder," *Social Forces*, 25 (March, 1947), pp. 321-326; R. H. Felix and R. V. Bowers, "Mental Hygiene and Socio-Environmental Factors," *The Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, XXVI (April, 1948), pp. 125-147; H. W. Green, *Persons Admitted to the Cleveland State Hospital, 1928-1937*, Cleveland Health Council, 1939.

⁴ R. E. L. Faris, "Cultural Isolation and the Schizophrenic Personality," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXIX (September, 1934), pp. 155-169; R. E. L. Faris, "Reflections of Social Disorganization in the Behavior of a Schizophrenic Patient," *American Journal of Sociology*, L (September, 1944), pp. 134-141.

⁵ For example, see: Robert E. Clark, "Psychoses, Income, and Occupational Prestige," *American Journal of Sociology*, 44 (March, 1949), pp. 433-440;

The present research, therefore, was designed to discover whether a relationship does or does not exist between the class system of our society and mental illnesses. Five general hypotheses were formulated in our research plan to test some dimension of an assumed relationship between the two. These hypotheses were stated positively; they could just as easily have been expressed either negatively or conditionally. They were phrased as follows:

- I. The *expectancy* of a psychiatric disorder is related significantly to an individual's position in the class structure of his society.
- II. The *types* of psychiatric disorders are connected significantly to the class structure.
- III. The type of *psychiatric treatment* administered is associated with patient's positions in the class structure.
- IV. The *psycho-dynamics* of psychiatric disorders are correlative to an individual's position in the class structure.
- V. *Mobility* in the class structure is neurotogenic.

Each hypothesis is linked to the others, and all are subsumed under the theoretical assumption of a functional relationship between stratification in society and the prevalence of particular types of mental disorders among given social classes or strata in a specified population. Although our research was planned around these hypotheses, we have been forced by the nature of the problem of mental illness to study *diagnosed* prevalence of psychiatric disorders, rather than *true* or *total* prevalence.

Robert E. Clark, "The Relationship of Schizophrenia to Occupational Income and Occupational Prestige," *American Sociological Review*, 13 (June, 1948), pp. 325-330; Kingsley Davis, "Mental Hygiene and the Class Structure," *Psychiatry*, I (February, 1938), pp. 55-56; Talcott Parsons, "Psycho-analysis and the Social Structure," *The Psycho-analytical Quarterly*, XIX, No. 3 (1950), pp. 371-384; John Dollard and Neal Miller, *Personality and Psychotherapy*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1950; Jurgen Ruesch, "Social Technique, Social Status, and Social Change in Illness," Clyde Kluckhohn and Henry A. Murray (editors), in *Personality in Nature, Society, and Culture*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949, pp. 117-130; W. L. Warner, "The Society, the Individual and his Mental Disorders," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 94, No. 2 (September, 1937), pp. 275-284.

METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURE

The research is being done by a team of four psychiatrists,⁶ two sociologists,⁷ and a clinical psychologist.⁸ The data are being assembled in the New Haven urban community, which consists of the city of New Haven and surrounding towns of East Haven, North Haven, West Haven, and Hamden. This community had a population of some 250,000 persons in 1950.⁹ The New Haven community was selected because the community's structure has been studied intensively by sociologists over a long period. In addition, it is served by a private psychiatric hospital, three psychiatric clinics, and 27 practicing psychiatrists, as well as the state and Veterans Administration facilities.

Four basic technical operations had to be completed before the hypotheses could be tested. These were: the delineation of the class structure of the community, selection of a cross-sectional control of the community's population, the determination of who was receiving psychiatric care, and the stratification of both the control sample and the psychiatric patients.

August B. Hollingshead and Jerome K. Myers took over the task of delineating the class system. Fortunately, Maurice R. Davie and his students had studied the social structure of the New Haven community in great detail over a long time span.¹⁰ Thus, we had a large body of data we could draw upon to

⁶ F. C. Redlich, B. H. Roberts, L. Z. Freedman, and Leslie Schaffer.

⁷ August B. Hollingshead and J. K. Myers.

⁸ Harvey A. Robinson.

⁹ The population of each component was as follows: New Haven, 164,443; East Haven, 12,212; North Haven, 9,444; West Haven, 32,010; Hamden, 29,715; and Woodbridge, 2,822.

¹⁰ Maurice R. Davie, "The Pattern of Urban Growth," G. P. Murdock (editor), in *Studies in the Science of Society*, New Haven: 1937, pp. 133-162; Ruby J. R. Kennedy, "Single or Triple Melting-Pot: Intermarriage Trends in New Haven, 1870-1940," *American Journal of Sociology*, 39 (January, 1944), pp. 331-339; John W. McConnell, *The Influence of Occupation Upon Social Stratification*, Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University, 1937; Jerome K. Myers, "Assimilation to the Ecological and Social Systems of a Community," *American Sociological Review*, 15 (June, 1950), pp. 367-372; Myra Minnis, "The Relationship of Women's Organizations to the Social Structure of a City," Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University, 1951.

aid us in blocking out the community's social structure.

The community's social structure is differentiated vertically along racial, ethnic, and religious lines; each of these vertical cleavages, in turn, is differentiated horizontally by a series of strata or classes. Around the socio-biological axis of race two social worlds have evolved: A Negro world and a white world. The white world is divided by ethnic origin and religion into Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish contingents. Within these divisions there are numerous ethnic groups. The Irish hold aloof from the Italians, and the Italians move in different circles from the Poles. The Jews maintain a religious and social life separate from the gentiles. The horizontal strata that transect each of these vertical divisions are based upon the social values that are attached to occupation, education, place of residence in the community, and associations.

The vertically differentiating factors of race, religion and ethnic origin, when combined with the horizontally differentiating ones of occupation, education, place of residence and so on, produce a social structure that is highly compartmentalized. The integrating factors in this complex are twofold. First, each stratum of each vertical division is similar in its cultural characteristics to the corresponding stratum in the other divisions. Second, the cultural pattern for each stratum or class was set by the "Old Yankee" core group. This core group provided the master cultural mold that has shaped the status system of each sub-group in the community. In short, the social structure of the New Haven community is a parallel class structure within the limits of race, ethnic origin, and religion.

This fact enabled us to stratify the community, for our purposes, with an *Index of Social Position*.¹¹ This *Index* utilizes three scaled factors to determine an individual's class position within the community's stratification system: ecological area of residence, occupation, and education. Ecological area of residence is measured by a six point scale;

occupation and education are each measured by a seven point scale. To obtain a social class score on an individual we must therefore know his address, his occupation, and the number of years of school he has completed. Each of these factors is given a scale score, and the scale score is multiplied by a factor weight determined by a standard regression equation. The factor weights are as follows: Ecological area of residence, 5; occupation, 8; and education, 6. The three factor scores are summed, and the resultant score is taken as an index of this individual's position in the community's social class system.

This *Index* enabled us to delineate five main social class strata within the horizontal dimension of the social structure. These principal strata or classes may be characterized as follows:

Class I. This stratum is composed of wealthy families whose wealth is often inherited and whose heads are leaders in the community's business and professional pursuits. Its members live in those areas of the community generally regarded as "the best;" the adults are college graduates, usually from famous private institutions, and almost all gentile families are listed in the *New Haven Social Directory*, but few Jewish families are listed. In brief, these people occupy positions of high social prestige.

Class II. Adults in this stratum are almost all college graduates; the males occupy high managerial positions, many are engaged in the lesser ranking professions. These families are well-to-do, but there is no substantial inherited or acquired wealth. Its members live in the "better" residential areas; about one-half of these families belong to lesser ranking private clubs, but only 5 per cent of Class II families are listed in the *New Haven Social Directory*.

Class III. This stratum includes the vast majority of small proprietors, white-collar office and sales workers, and a considerable number of skilled manual workers. Adults are predominantly high school graduates, but a considerable percentage have attended business schools and small colleges for a year or two. They live in "good" residential areas; less than 5

¹¹ A detailed statement of the procedures used to develop and validate this *Index* will be described in a forthcoming monograph on this research tentatively titled *Psychiatry and Social Class* by August B. Hollingshead and Fredrick C. Redlich.

per cent belong to private clubs, but they are not included in the *Social Directory*. Their social life tends to be concentrated in the family, the church, and the lodge.

Class IV. This stratum consists predominately of semi-skilled factory workers. Its adult members have finished the elementary grades, but the older people have not completed high school. However, adults under thirty-five have generally graduated from high school. Its members comprise almost one-half of the community; and their residences are scattered over wide areas. Social life is centered in the family, the neighborhood, the labor union, and public places.

Class V. Occupationally, class V adults are overwhelmingly semi-skilled factory hands and unskilled laborers. Educationally most adults have not completed the elementary grades. The families are concentrated in the "tenement" and "cold-water flat" areas of New Haven. Only a small minority belong to organized community institutions. Their social life takes place in the family flat, on the street, or in neighborhood social agencies.

The second major technical operation in this research was the enumeration of psychiatric patients. A Psychiatric Census was taken to discover the number and kinds of psychiatric patients in the community. Enumeration was limited to residents of the community who were patients of a psychiatrist or a psychiatric clinic, or were in a psychiatric institution on December 1, 1950. To make reasonably certain that all patients were included in the enumeration, the research team gathered data from all public and private psychiatric institutions and clinics in Connecticut and nearby states, and all private practitioners in Connecticut and the metropolitan New York area. It received the cooperation of all clinics and institutions, and of all practitioners except a small number in New York City. It can be reasonably assumed that we have data comprising at least 98 per cent of all individuals who were receiving psychiatric care on December 1, 1950.

Forty-four pertinent items of information were gathered on each patient and placed on

a schedule. The psychiatrists gathered material regarding symptomatology and diagnosis, onset of illness and duration, referral to the practitioner and the institution, and the nature and intensity of treatment. The sociologists obtained information on age, sex, occupation, education, religion, race and ethnicity, family history, marital experiences, and so on.

The third technical research operation was the selection of a control sample from the normal population of the community. The sociologists drew a 5 per cent random sample of households in the community from the 1951, New Haven *City Directory*. This directory covers the entire communal area. The names and addresses in it were compiled in October and November, 1950—a period very close to the date of the Psychiatric Census. Therefore there was comparability of residence and date of registry between the two population groups. Each household drawn in the sample was interviewed, and data on the age, sex, occupation, education, religion, and income of family members, as well as other items necessary for our purposes were placed on a schedule. This sample is our Control Population.

Our fourth basic operation was the stratification of the psychiatric patients and of the control population with the *Index of Social Position*. As soon as these tasks were completed, the schedules from the Psychiatric Census and the 5 per cent Control Sample were edited and coded, and their data were placed on Hollerith cards. The analysis of these data is in process.

SELECTED FINDINGS

Before we discuss our findings relative to Hypothesis I, we want to reemphasize that our study is concerned with *diagnosed* or *treated* prevalence rather than *true* or *total* prevalence. Our Psychiatric Census included only psychiatric cases under treatment, diagnostic study, or care. It did not include individuals with psychiatric disorders who were not being treated on December 1, 1950, by a psychiatrist. There are undoubtedly many individuals in the community with psychiatric problems who escaped our net. If we had *true* prevalence figures, many findings from our present study would be more meaningful, perhaps some of our interpreta-

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tions would be changed, but at present we must limit ourselves to the data we have.

Hypothesis I, as revised by the nature of the problem, stated: *The diagnosed prevalence of psychiatric disorders is related significantly to an individual's position in the class structure.* A test of this hypothesis involves a comparison of the normal population with the psychiatric population. If no significant difference between the distribution of the normal population and the psychiatric patient population by social class is found, Hypothesis I may be abandoned as unproved. However, if a significant difference is found between the two populations by class, Hypothesis I should be entertained until more conclusive data are assembled. Pertinent data for a limited test of Hypothesis I are presented in Table 1. The data included show the number of individuals in the normal population and the psychiatric population, by class level. What we are concerned with in this test is how these two populations are distributed by class.

TABLE I. DISTRIBUTION OF NORMAL AND PSYCHIATRIC POPULATION BY SOCIAL CLASS

| Social Class | Normal Population* | | Psychiatric Population | |
|--------------|--------------------|----------|------------------------|----------|
| | Number | Per cent | Number | Per cent |
| I | 358 | 3.1 | 19 | 1.0 |
| II | 926 | 8.1 | 131 | 6.7 |
| III | 2500 | 22.0 | 260 | 13.2 |
| IV | 5256 | 46.0 | 758 | 38.6 |
| V | 2037 | 17.8 | 723 | 36.8 |
| Unknown** | 345 | 3.0 | 72 | 3.7 |
| Total | 11,422 | 100.0 | 1,963 | 100.0 |

Chi square=408.16, P less than .001.

* These figures are preliminary. They do not include Yale students, transients, institutionalized persons, and refusals.

** The unknown cases were not used in the calculation of chi square. They are individuals drawn in the sample, and psychiatric cases whose class level could not be determined because of paucity of data.

When we tested the reliability of these population distributions by the use of the chi square method, we found a *very significant* relation between social class and treated prevalence of psychiatric disorders in the New Haven community. A comparison of the percentage distribution of each population by class readily indicates

the direction of the class concentration of psychiatric cases. For example, Class I contains 3.1 per cent of the community's population but only 1.0 per cent of the psychiatric cases. Class V, on the other hand, includes 17.8 per cent of the community's population, but contributed 36.8 per cent of the psychiatric patients. On the basis of our data Hypothesis I clearly should be accepted as tenable.

Hypothesis II postulated a significant connection between the *type* of psychiatric disorder and social class. This hypothesis involves a test of the idea that there may be a functional relationship between an individual's position in the class system and the type of psychiatric disorder that he may present. This hypothesis depends, in part, on the question of diagnosis. Our psychiatrists based their diagnoses on the classificatory system developed by the Veterans Administration.¹² For the purposes of this paper, all cases are grouped into two categories: the neuroses and the psychoses. The results of this grouping by social class are given in Table 2.

TABLE II. DISTRIBUTION OF NEUROSES AND PSYCHOSES BY SOCIAL CLASS

| Social Class | Neuroses | | Psychoses | |
|--------------|----------|----------|-----------|----------|
| | Number | Per cent | Number | Per cent |
| I | 10 | 52.6 | 9 | 47.4 |
| II | 88 | 67.2 | 43 | 32.8 |
| III | 115 | 44.2 | 145 | 55.8 |
| IV | 175 | 23.1 | 583 | 76.9 |
| V | 61 | 8.4 | 662 | 91.6 |
| Total | 449 | | 1,442 | |

Chi square=296.45, P less than .001.

A study of Table 2 will show that the neuroses are concentrated at the higher levels and the psychoses at the lower end of the class structure. Our team advanced a number of theories to explain the sharp differences between the neuroses and psychoses by social class. One suggestion was that the low percentage of neurotics in the lower classes was a direct reaction to the cost of psychiatric treatment. But as we

¹² *Psychiatric Disorders and Reactions*, Washington: Veterans Administration, Technical Bulletin 10A-78, October, 1947.

accumulated a series of case studies, for tests of Hypotheses IV and V, we became skeptical of this simple interpretation. Our detailed case records indicate that the social distance between psychiatrist and patient may be more potent than economic considerations in determining the character of psychiatric intervention. This question therefore requires further research.

The high concentration of psychotics in the lower strata is probably the product of a very unequal distribution of psychotics in the total population. To test this idea, Hollingshead selected schizophrenics for special study. Because of the severity of this disease it is probable that very few schizophrenics fail to receive some kind of psychiatric care.

tionately prevalent in a social class the index is above 100; if schizophrenia is disproportionately low in a social class the index is below 100. The index for each social class appears in the last column of Table 3.

The fact that the Index of Prevalence in class I is only one-fifth as great as it would be if schizophrenia were proportionately distributed in this class, and that it is two and one-half times as high in class V as we might expect on the basis of proportional distribution, gives further support to Hypothesis II. The fact that the Index of Prevalence is 11.2 times as great in class V as in class I is particularly impressive.

Hypothesis III stipulated that the type of psychiatric treatment a patient receives is

TABLE III. COMPARISON OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE NORMAL POPULATION WITH SCHIZOPHRENICS BY CLASS, WITH INDEX OF PROBABLE PREVALENCE

| Social Class | Normal Population | | Schizophrenics | | Index of Prevalence |
|--------------|-------------------|----------|----------------|----------|---------------------|
| | No. | Per cent | No. | Per cent | |
| I | 358 | 3.2 | 6 | .7 | 22 |
| II | 926 | 8.4 | 23 | 2.7 | 33 |
| III | 2,500 | 22.6 | 83 | 9.8 | 43 |
| IV | 5,256 | 47.4 | 352 | 41.6 | 88 |
| V | 2,037 | 18.4 | 383 | 45.2 | 246 |
| Total | 11,077 | 100.0 | 847 | 100.0 | |

This diagnostic group comprises 44.2 per cent of all patients, and 58.7 per cent of the psychotics, in our study. Ninety-seven and six-tenths per cent of these schizophrenic patients had been hospitalized at one time or another, and 94 per cent were hospitalized at the time of our census. When we classify these patients by social class we find that there is a very significant inverse relationship between social class and schizophrenia.

Hollingshead decided to determine, on the basis of these data, what the probability of the prevalence of schizophrenia by social class might be in the general population. To do this he used a proportional index to learn whether or not there were differentials in the distribution of the general population, as represented in our control sample, and the distribution of schizophrenics by social class. If a social class exhibits the same proportion of schizophrenia as it comprises of the general population, the index for that class is 100. If schizophrenia is disproportio-

nally prevalent in a social class the index is above 100; if schizophrenia is disproportionately low in a social class the index is below 100. The index for each social class appears in the last column of Table 3.

The fact that the Index of Prevalence in class I is only one-fifth as great as it would be if schizophrenia were proportionately distributed in this class, and that it is two and one-half times as high in class V as we might expect on the basis of proportional distribution, gives further support to Hypothesis II. The fact that the Index of Prevalence is 11.2 times as great in class V as in class I is particularly impressive.

Hypothesis III stipulated that the type of psychiatric treatment a patient receives is

associated with his position in the class structure. A test of this hypothesis involves a comparison of the different types of therapy being used by psychiatrists on patients in the different social classes. We encountered many forms of therapy but they may be grouped under three main types; psychotherapy, organic therapy, and custodial care. The patient population, from the viewpoint of the principal type of therapy received, was divided roughly into three categories: 32.0 per cent received some type of psychotherapy; 31.7 per cent received organic treatments of one kind or another; and 36.3 per cent received custodial care without treatment. The percentage of persons who received no treatment care was greatest in the lower classes. The same finding applies to organic treatment. Psychotherapy, on the other hand, was concentrated in the higher classes. Within the psychotherapy category there were sharp differences between the types of psychotherapy administered to the several classes.

For example, psychoanalysis was limited to classes I and II. Patients in class V who received any psychotherapy were treated by group methods in the state hospitals. The number and percentage of patients who received each type of therapy is given in Table 4. The data clearly support Hypothesis III.

At the moment we do not have data available for a test of Hypotheses IV and V. These will be put to a test as soon as we complete work on a series of cases now under close study. Preliminary materials

The data we have assembled demonstrate conclusively that mental illness, as measured by diagnosed prevalence, is not distributed randomly in the population of the New Haven community. On the contrary, psychiatric difficulties of so serious a nature that they reach the attention of a psychiatrist are unequally distributed among the five social classes. In addition, types of psychiatric disorders, and the ways patients are treated, are strongly associated with social class position.

The statistical tests of our hypotheses in-

TABLE IV. DISTRIBUTION OF THE PRINCIPAL TYPES OF THERAPY BY SOCIAL CLASS

| Social Class | Psychotherapy | | Organic Therapy | | No Treatment | |
|--------------|---------------|----------|-----------------|----------|--------------|----------|
| | Number | Per cent | Number | Per cent | Number | Per cent |
| I | 14 | 73.7 | 2 | 10.5 | 3 | 15.8 |
| II | 107 | 81.7 | 15 | 11.4 | 9 | 6.9 |
| III | 136 | 52.7 | 74 | 28.7 | 48 | 18.6 |
| IV | 237 | 31.1 | 288 | 37.1 | 242 | 31.8 |
| V | 115 | 16.1 | 234 | 32.7 | 367 | 51.2 |

Chi square=336.58, P less than .001.

give us the impression that they too will be confirmed.

CONCLUSIONS AND INTERPRETATIONS

This study was designed to throw new light upon the question of how mental illness is related to social environment. It approached this problem from the perspective of social class to determine if an individual's position in the social system was associated significantly with the development of psychiatric disorders. It proceeded on the theoretical assumption that if mental illnesses were distributed randomly in the population, the hypotheses designed to test the idea that psychiatric disorders are connected in some functional way to the class system would not be found to be statistically significant.

dicate that there are definite connections between particular types of social environments in which people live, as measured by the social class concept, and the emergence of particular kinds of psychiatric disorders, as measured by psychiatric diagnosis. They do not tell us what these connections are, nor how they are functionally related to a particular type of mental illness in a given individual. The next step, we believe, is to turn from the strictly statistical approach to an intensive study of the social environments associated with particular social classes, on the one hand, and of individuals in these environments who do or do not develop mental illnesses, on the other hand. Currently the research team is engaged in this next step but is not yet ready to make a formal report of its findings.

ASSORTATIVE MATING BY PREVIOUS MARITAL STATUS: SEATTLE, 1939-1946

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University of Washington

IN the last few years there have been a number of studies of the factors which influence mate selection in our society. Most prominent among such studies are those of assortative mating, showing the tendency of individuals to marry those who are like themselves in many characteristics.¹ One type of assortative mating about which little is known is selection by previous marital status. With the increase in number of divorced persons and the large proportion of divorced and widowed who remarry, more detailed study of their mate selection patterns is needed to fill a gap in our information on this subject. Sundal and McCormick, Nimkoff, and Glick have pointed out that there is a tendency for people to marry those like themselves in marital status, and Hollingshead's data can be analyzed to show the same general conclusion.²

The purpose of this study is to investigate assortativeness by previous marital status in greater detail, particularly to show how it varies from one age group to another and from one marital status group to another. The data were obtained from marriage license applications in King County (Seattle), Washington, for the period from July 1939 to December 1946. Marriage license applica-

tions are bound in volumes containing approximately 500 applications each. A large number of couples were required for the kind of analysis to be made, so a sample of half of the volumes during this period was selected, and the data on age and marital status of both bride and groom were transcribed for all cases in each selected volume, giving a total of 37,844 couples.

Assortative mating is generally defined as the tendency, conscious or unconscious, to select a mate with characteristics similar to one's own. However, there are two different approaches to the measurement of the existence and amount of assortativeness. One approach uses the actual mate selection patterns to see what per cent of individuals of a given type marry individuals of the same or other types. The other approach examines the extent to which the actual selection pattern differs from the pattern which would have been obtained if individuals had married at random with respect to the characteristic under consideration. In general, these two approaches will produce different results.

The first approach is illustrated by the analysis made by Nimkoff³ of assortative mating by previous marital status, using data from New York State, exclusive of New York City, for 1932-34. He finds that over 90 per cent of single brides and grooms selected single mates, and that less than two-thirds of the divorced and widowed, combined, married either a divorced or widowed person. He concludes that there is assortativeness, and that the tendency is much greater for the single than for the previously married.

The more frequently used approach defines assortativeness in terms of deviation from random selection. If mates are actually selected in the proportions expected by chance we can say there is no assortativeness, regardless of the actual percentages, since this is what would occur if people

* The author wishes to express appreciation to Dr. S. Frank Miyamoto for reading the manuscript and making helpful suggestions, and to Warren Kalbach of the Office of Population Research, University of Washington, and Dr. Calvin F. Schmid for assistance with the graphic material.

¹ For one of the most extensive studies see E. W. Burgess and Paul Wallin, "Homogamy and Social Characteristics," *American Journal of Sociology*, 49 (September, 1943), pp. 109-124.

² M. F. Nimkoff, *Marriage and the Family*, New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1947, pp. 419-21; A. Philip Sundal and T. C. McCormick, "Age at Marriage and Mate Selection: Madison, Wisconsin, 1937-1943," *American Sociological Review*, 16 (February, 1951), p. 47; Paul C. Glick, "First Marriages and Remarriages," *American Sociological Review*, 14 (December, 1949), p. 728; and A. B. Hollingshead, "Age Relationships and Marriage," *American Sociological Review*, 16 (August, 1951), pp. 493-4.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 419-20.

did not take the characteristic into account at all in mate selection. If there are appreciable differences between observed and expected frequencies, however, selection is obviously not made on a random basis. Not only does this approach give results that are more meaningful for comparing various sub-groups in a given population, but, since it takes into account the joint distribution of the characteristic in the population, it can more accurately be used to compare assortative tendencies in populations at different times or places.

men had actually exercised more "selectivity" with respect to this factor (or factors associated with it) than had the single men—a conclusion exactly opposite to that which we arrive at by looking at the frequency distributions.

Table 1 gives the frequency and percentage of cases in each of the nine cells of a 3 by 3 contingency table relating marital status of brides and grooms in the Seattle sample. The percentage of cases expected to appear in each cell by chance was computed from the observed marginal frequencies.

TABLE 1. OBSERVED AND EXPECTED FREQUENCIES OF MARITAL STATUS OF BRIDE AND GROOM: TOTAL SAMPLE

| | Observed frequency | Observed percentage | Per cent expected by chance | Ratio of observed to expected |
|------------------------|--------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Single Grooms | | | | |
| Single Brides | 24,756 | 65.4 | 57.3 | 1.14 |
| Divorced Brides | 3,917 | 10.4 | 15.9 | .65 |
| Widowed Brides | 1,046 | 2.8 | 5.3 | .53 |
| Divorced Grooms | | | | |
| Single Brides | 2,397 | 6.3 | 11.9 | .53 |
| Divorced Brides | 3,057 | 8.1 | 3.3 | 2.45 |
| Widowed Brides | 721 | 1.9 | 1.1 | 1.73 |
| Widowed Grooms | | | | |
| Single Brides | 459 | 1.2 | 3.8 | .32 |
| Divorced Brides | 694 | 1.8 | 1.1 | 1.64 |
| Widowed Brides | 797 | 2.1 | 0.3 | 7.00 |
| Total | 37,844 | 100.0 | 100.0 | |

To compare the results of the two approaches in one example, the data from the present study would yield results comparable to those of Nimkoff. Over 83 per cent of the single males married single females while only 65 per cent of the males who had been previously married selected previously married mates. It is true that the single men were more *likely* to marry their own type, but 73 per cent of all women in the sample were single and only 27 per cent had been married previously. Therefore, if single men had selected mates randomly with respect to marital status, 73 per cent would have married a single woman, while only 27 per cent of the previously married men would have selected a woman who had been previously married if chance factors alone had been operating. From this point of view, it would appear that the previously married

cies. A measure of association, such as the coefficient of contingency based on chi-square, using the deviations from expected frequencies in all cells of the contingency table, can be used as a measure of assortativeness of the total group.⁴ Also, since some of the observed cell-frequencies deviate from expected frequencies more than others, the simple ratio of observed to expected frequencies gives a measure of sub-group assortativeness.

The coefficient of contingency for the data of Table 1 is .45, showing a moderate relationship between marital status of bride and groom for our total sample. This is close

* When dealing with assortativeness of variable characteristics such as height, longevity, or intelligence, essentially the same definition of assortativeness is implied in the use of the coefficient of correlation.

to the coefficient of .41 which can be worked out from the data reported by Hollingshead for a comparable sample.⁵

The last column in Table 1 gives the ratio of observed to expected frequencies for each of the marital status combinations in the total sample. Ratios above 1.00 show selection of a combination of mates to be greater than chance, while ratios under 1.00 show that persons in these categories selected each other less than they would have by chance, indicating unfavored combinations.

The tendency for individuals to marry persons similar to themselves in marital status holds true for each of the sub-groups. However, the single bride-single groom combination occurs only 14 per cent more than by chance, while the divorced marry the divorced almost two and a half times as frequently as expected and the widowed marry the widowed with seven times the expected frequency. These results can be compared with those of Sundal and McCormick⁶ who report that in their sample from Madison, Wisconsin, the previously divorced married previously divorced more than four times as frequently as they would have by random selection, and that the ratio of observed to expected frequencies for widowed marrying widowed was over 12.

Marriage of widowed to divorced persons is more frequent than by chance, but not as much in excess of chance as marriage to persons of their own marital status. On the other hand, the proportion of single people and previously married people who marry each other is much less than would be expected on the basis of random selection, with the widowed and single favoring each other even less than the divorced and single.

It should be pointed out that measures of assortativeness based on group performance deal only with the assortativeness of those persons who actually marry. There are undoubtedly other persons in the community who would have married if all of the mate selection factors had been favorable. Therefore, a certain amount of negative selection has already taken place, and those who do not marry may have preferences much dif-

ferent from those of persons who do marry. We are also making the assumption, when we use marginal totals to obtain expected cell frequencies, that all brides and grooms in the marrying population had an equal opportunity to select mates in all categories and that the probability of selection is affected only by the proportion of persons in each category. To the extent that this assumption is incorrect, we have assortativeness based not on factors influencing choice, but on other factors such as the ecological structuring of the community. These qualifications are inherent in the use of data of this kind. A different kind of data would obviously be required to check on the attitudes and choice possibilities of individuals.

In interpreting these measures of assortativeness, it should be noted that the ratio of observed to expected values is necessarily limited as the expected value becomes large. For example, the expected percentage of single bride-single groom marriages in our sample was 57.3. Even if all of the single women had been married by single men, the ratio would only be 1.27, indicating only a moderate assortative tendency for this sub-group, yet the vast majority might have had strong preferences for marrying a single person. This contradiction in interpretation can be resolved by distinguishing between attitudes toward a characteristic considered in mate selection, and the extent to which it is necessary to take the characteristic into account. If the proportion of persons with a given characteristic is large, a desire to select a person of that type will be satisfied in most cases by random selection, and to that extent the characteristic does not have to be taken into account in mate selection. To take an extreme example, most people who are not deaf would probably express a strong preference for a mate with normal hearing. However, since such a large proportion of potential mates have normal hearing, this factor is undoubtedly not thought of by most persons in mate selection, and it would make sense to say that there was little assortative mating for these people. On the other hand, those relatively few people who are deaf would be much more likely to seek those of their own kind and marry them in larger proportion than their proportion in the general population, giving a high index of assortativeness for this sub-group.

⁵ Hollingshead, *op. cit.*, pp. 493-4.

⁶ Sundal and McCormick, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

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TABLE

| Age |
|----------|
| Under 20 |
| 20-24 |
| 25-29 |
| 30-34 |
| 35-39 |
| 40-44 |
| 45-49 |
| 50-59 |
| 60+ |
| Total |

| Age |
|----------|
| Under 20 |
| 20-24 |
| 25-29 |
| 30-34 |
| 35-39 |
| 40-44 |
| 45-49 |
| 50-59 |
| 60+ |
| Total |

| Age |
|----------|
| Under 20 |
| 20-24 |
| 25-29 |
| 30-34 |
| 35-39 |
| 40-44 |
| 45-49 |
| 50-59 |
| 60+ |
| Total |

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Consequently, the index of assortative mating which we are using shows the extent to which a group of individuals is disposed to and does deviate from the chance distribution in selecting mates.

traits which were correlated with marital status. Probably the most important of these is the factor of age. Since people are known to marry those of approximately their own age, and since we know that the marital

TABLE 2. PERCENTAGE OF GROOMS AND BRIDES MARRYING PERSONS OF EACH MARITAL STATUS, BY AGE AND MARITAL STATUS: SEATTLE, 1939-1946

| Age | Number | Percentage Marrying | | | Number | Percentage Marrying | | |
|--------------------|--------|---------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------|---------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| | | Single Brides | Divorced Brides | Widowed Brides | | Single Grooms | Divorced Grooms | Widowed Grooms |
| Single Grooms | | | | | | | | |
| Under 20 | 1,194 | 98.3 | 1.2 | 0.5 | 7,849 | 95.9 | 3.5 | 0.6 |
| 20-24 | 13,995 | 92.6 | 6.4 | 1.0 | 12,523 | 92.7 | 6.6 | 0.7 |
| 25-29 | 7,658 | 84.2 | 13.5 | 2.3 | 3,786 | 83.6 | 14.2 | 2.1 |
| 30-34 | 2,688 | 68.4 | 26.6 | 4.9 | 985 | 73.0 | 21.9 | 5.1 |
| 35-39 | 1,210 | 57.5 | 34.0 | 8.5 | 358 | 62.0 | 31.0 | 7.0 |
| 40-44 | 512 | 44.9 | 37.5 | 17.6 | 129 | 57.4 | 30.2 | 12.4 |
| 45-49 | 284 | 34.9 | 39.1 | 26.1 | 59 | 62.7 | 22.0 | 15.3 |
| 50-59 | 209 | 28.2 | 35.9 | 35.9 | 37 | 56.7 | 27.0 | 16.2 |
| 60+ | 81 | 46.9 | 13.6 | 39.5 | 4 | .... | .... | .... |
| Total | 27,831 | 84.6 | 12.4 | 3.0 | 25,730 | 85.4 | 7.4 | 1.2 |
| Divorced Grooms | | | | | | | | |
| Under 20 | 8 | .... | .... | .... | 156 | 90.4 | 9.0 | 0.6 |
| 20-24 | 396 | 73.7 | 23.5 | 2.8 | 1,422 | 72.7 | 25.0 | 2.3 |
| 25-29 | 1,060 | 61.4 | 35.5 | 3.1 | 1,650 | 59.9 | 35.8 | 4.4 |
| 30-34 | 1,156 | 45.6 | 49.3 | 5.1 | 1,258 | 49.0 | 44.5 | 6.4 |
| 35-39 | 957 | 32.7 | 57.2 | 10.1 | 749 | 39.0 | 48.9 | 12.1 |
| 40-44 | 647 | 26.0 | 59.1 | 15.0 | 411 | 32.1 | 50.4 | 17.5 |
| 45-49 | 394 | 15.5 | 61.9 | 22.6 | 222 | 24.8 | 56.8 | 18.5 |
| 50-59 | 337 | 11.6 | 55.8 | 32.6 | 178 | 25.3 | 43.3 | 31.5 |
| 60+ | 77 | 9.1 | 41.5 | 49.3 | 19 | .... | .... | .... |
| Total | 5,032 | 41.0 | 48.4 | 10.6 | 6,065 | 54.5 | 38.0 | 7.5 |
| Widowed Grooms | | | | | | | | |
| Under 20 | 2 | .... | .... | .... | 32 | 78.1 | 12.5 | 9.4 |
| 20-24 | 39 | 92.3 | 5.1 | 2.6 | 189 | 81.0 | 15.9 | 3.2 |
| 25-29 | 100 | 63.0 | 28.0 | 9.0 | 209 | 70.8 | 23.9 | 5.3 |
| 30-34 | 137 | 44.5 | 46.0 | 9.5 | 215 | 56.7 | 30.7 | 12.6 |
| 35-39 | 170 | 38.2 | 44.7 | 17.1 | 254 | 47.2 | 38.2 | 14.6 |
| 40-44 | 159 | 25.2 | 53.5 | 21.4 | 212 | 36.3 | 39.1 | 24.5 |
| 45-49 | 160 | 18.1 | 45.0 | 36.9 | 191 | 24.1 | 38.7 | 37.2 |
| 50-59 | 289 | 9.7 | 38.4 | 51.9 | 234 | 23.9 | 26.9 | 49.1 |
| 60+ | 206 | 6.8 | 20.9 | 72.3 | 99 | 22.2 | 14.1 | 63.7 |
| Total | 1,262 | 26.8 | 38.0 | 35.2 | 1,635 | 47.1 | 29.4 | 23.5 |

AGE DIFFERENCES IN ASSORTATIVE MATING

The discussion so far has dealt only with the characteristic of marital status at time of marriage. Although we have shown that there is a tendency for individuals to select mates of a marital status similar to their own, this may be due not only to attitudes toward persons of a particular marital status but could also be due to selection of other

status distribution varies with age, this would seem to be an important factor to hold constant in order to get an accurate estimate of marital status assortativeness.

Table 2 gives the number of brides and grooms in our sample of each age and marital status at time of marriage. As would be expected, the number of single persons marrying drops off rather rapidly after age

30, particularly for females, while the number of divorced persons marrying increases rapidly to around age 30 and then drops off gradually, again with a more skewed distribution for brides than for grooms. The number of widowed persons increases more slowly and the distribution is much more rectangular than that of the other two marital status groups. It is apparent from these distributions that if individuals select mates similar to themselves in age, the probability of marrying a person of a given marital status by chance will vary greatly from one age group to another. Consequently the degree of assortative mating found for the total sample or for sub-groups of it will be a function of the age distribution of persons marrying and of the number of persons of each marital status at each age, as well as of any tendencies toward assortativeness. To find out how much relationship remained when age was held constant, the coefficient of contingency, relating marital status of groom to marital status of bride was computed for each age group, first by age of groom, then by age of bride. The chi-squares were all significant beyond the .001 level, and the CC's were as follows:

| | Age of Groom | Age of Bride |
|------------------|--------------|--------------|
| Under 20 | ... | .07 |
| 20-24 | .11 | .20 |
| 25-29 | .20 | .24 |
| 30-34 | .22 | .24 |
| 35-39 | .25 | .19 |
| 40-44 | .22 | .21 |
| 45-49 | .25 | .32 |
| 50-59 | .25 | .25 |
| 60 and over..... | .45 | .18 |

For couples with the groom under 20, there were too few cases in the non-single categories to permit computation of a coefficient. The number of cases in the non-single categories was also small for couples with bride under 20 and groom 20-24, which may account for those coefficients being smaller than the others. For other age groups the coefficients were very similar, with the exception of the couples with groom over 60. In general, two conclusions can be drawn from these age comparisons: (a) with the possible exception of the very youngest and

oldest age groups, total assortativeness does not vary appreciably from one age group to another; (b) when age is held constant, assortativeness is much lower than it was found to be for the total sample.

Although the coefficient of contingency shows little variation in assortativeness at different ages, it is possible that such variation exists in the marital status sub-groups. The percentage distributions of marital status of mate for persons in each age and marital status group are shown in Table 2 and in Figure 1. The marital status of the selected mate differs greatly from one age to another and from one marital status group to another. The curves show a decline with age in the percentage marrying single persons, an increase in the percentage marrying divorced persons up to age 40 or 50 followed by a decline, and a continuing increase in the percentage marrying widowed persons. These general trends are similar for all marital status groups, but in each case people select mates of their own marital status in larger percentages than they do those in the other marital status groups. These statistics describe the actual selections, and would be used for stating the probability that a person of a given age and marital status would select a mate of any particular marital status in a population with similar age and marital status composition and similar assortative tendencies. These figures in themselves, however, do not describe assortative tendencies as defined in this study. The ratio of observed to expected frequencies, discussed earlier, is used as an index of assortativeness for each age and marital status sub-group.

The data were first sorted by age of groom, and ratios were computed for each of the nine mate selection categories of the 3 by 3 tables relating marital status of groom and bride. Similar tables were then constructed for each age group of brides and the ratios of observed to expected frequencies were computed so that assortativeness of brides and grooms of the same age and marital status could be compared. Section A of Figure 2 shows these ratios for all categories of brides and grooms of each age who selected single mates, and Sections B and C show the ratios for those who selected divorced and widowed mates.



FIGURE 1
Marital Status of Selected Mate
Are (A)

ASSORTATIVE MATING BY PREVIOUS MARITAL STATUS

175

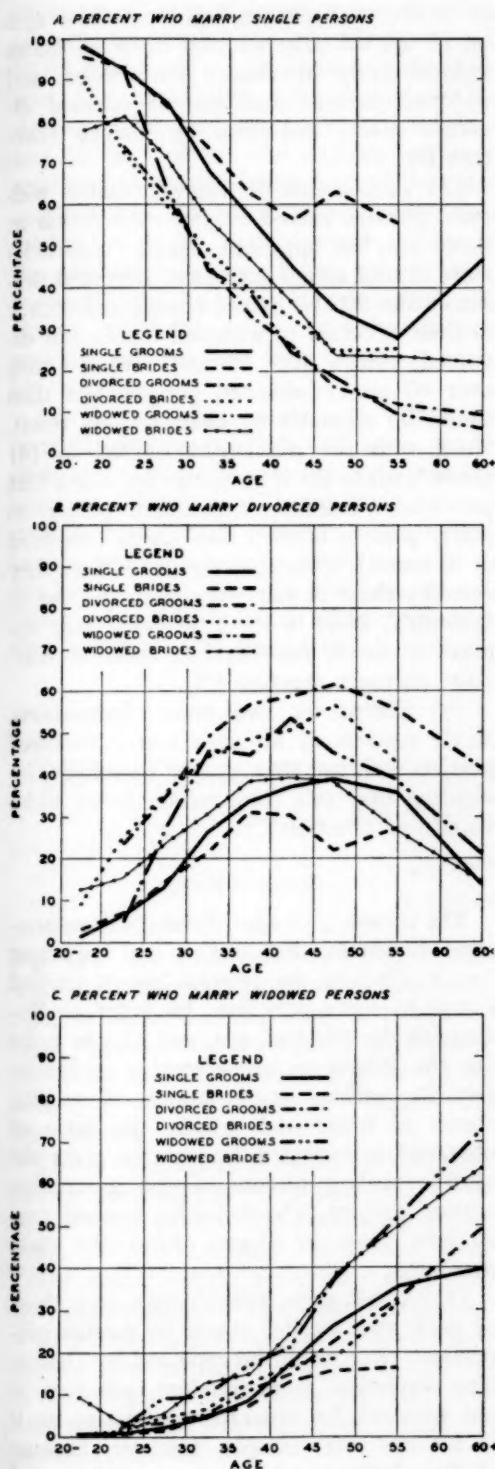


FIGURE 1. Per Cent of Grooms and Brides of Each Marital Status, by Age, Marrying Persons Who Are (A) Single, (B) Divorced, and (C) Widowed

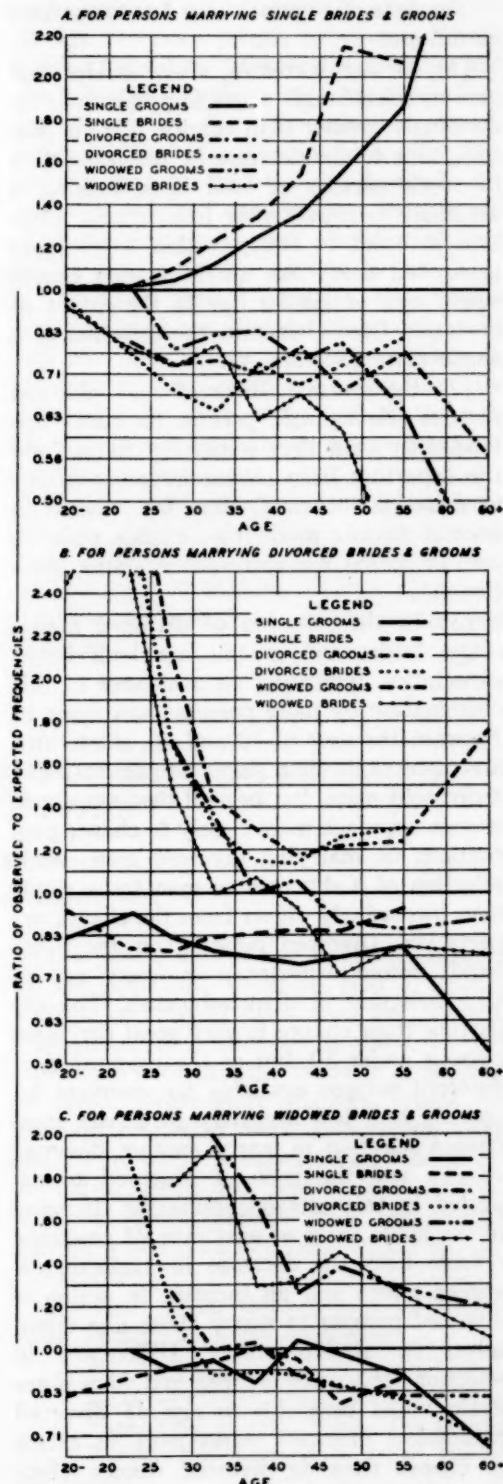


FIGURE 2. Ratio of Observed to Expected Frequencies in Each Assortative Mating Category by Age

The data of Figure 2 may be summarized as follows:

(1) As age increases, single brides and grooms select single mates in proportions increasingly greater than chance. This is partially due to the decrease in the proportion of single persons at later ages, making it necessary to depart more from chance selection in order to marry within a preferred group. At every age single women exceed single men of similar age in the extent of deviation from chance in the selection of a single mate (Section A).

(2) By contrast, divorced and widowed persons select single persons as mates less frequently than they would by chance, and the departure from chance increases as age at marriage increases. Here too, women in general deviate more from chance than do men of similar age and marital status (Section A).

(3) In the selection of divorced mates, single brides and grooms are both below expectancy, indicating an avoidance of this combination by more persons than favor it. Between the ages of 20 and 30, single men are more likely than single women to select a divorced mate, but beyond that age single women approach more closely to chance proportions in marrying divorced men, while selection of a divorced woman by a single man increasingly differs from the chance expectation. Divorced persons, on the other hand, exceed expectancy at every age in their selection of divorced mates. The departure from chance is very great for those persons under 30, but as the proportion of divorced persons available for marriage increases, it is less necessary to depart from chance selection to marry another divorced person, and the ratio of observed to expected in this category decreases. Increase in the index again at ages over 45 probably reflects both the decrease in available divorced mates and an increase in desire of divorced persons to marry those like themselves in marital status. Differences in selection tendencies for men and women are again noted here. Up to age 45 divorced men select divorced mates more in excess of chance than do divorced women (Section B).

(4) Widowed women under 30 and widowed men under 35 have about the same selection tendencies toward divorced mates

as do divorced persons, but from these ages up to age 45 they selected divorced mates approximately at chance frequencies, and widowed persons over age 45 selected divorced mates less than by chance (Section B).

(5) In selection of widowed mates, widowed persons exceed chance expectation at every age, but approach chance frequencies more closely as age increases. Divorced persons under 30 also exceed chance expectancy in their selection of widowed mates, but divorced women over 30 and divorced men over 40 marry widowed persons less than would be expected by chance. This result, along with the relationship stated in (4) above leads to the interesting conclusion that previously married individuals prefer to marry persons of their own status (divorced or widowed), although at younger ages they consider those of the other status almost as favorably, while in the later years they appear to discriminate against them as marriage partners (Section C).

(6) Except for two minor fluctuations, single persons at all ages marry widowed persons with less than chance frequency, indicating that this combination is an unfavored one (Section C).

CONCLUSIONS

The summary of age differences in assortativeness shows that age is an important factor affecting the relationship of marital status to mate selection. In order to distinguish the effect of age, and also to point out the differences in assortative tendencies for the various combinations of marital status of bride and groom, the ratio of observed to expected frequencies gives the most revealing picture of the assortative mating pattern. The following general conclusions may be drawn from the data presented:

(1) At all ages, individuals marry those of their own marital status in greater proportions than would be expected by chance. The deviation from random selection is not as great for separate age groups as it is for the total sample, however, because of the relationship between age and marital status.

(2) When all age groups are combined, assortativeness is highest for widowed persons and lowest for the single. However,

when age at time of marriage is taken into account, this ranking holds only up to age 30 for brides and 35 for grooms. After these ages, the assortative ratio is highest for single persons, and, after age 50 for brides and 60 for grooms, the widowed-widowed combination has the lowest ratio of the three combinations. In other words, there is a tendency for the marital status group in the smallest minority at any age to make in-group selections much more than by chance, while the group having the largest majority departs least from chance in making selections.

(3) At all ages, single and previously married persons are less likely to marry each other than they would with random selection. However, widowed and divorced persons marry each other in greater than chance proportions only up to ages 30 or 40. During the later years the frequency of this combination is below chance expectation, and similar to that of the single-previ-

ously married combination. In other words, as age increases people apparently distinguish increasingly between the divorced and the widowed in making mate selections. During the earlier years the selection pattern between divorced and widowed is more similar to that of the divorced-divorced and widowed-widowed combinations than to the single-previous married combination, but in the later years the reverse is true.

(4) The general trends are similar whether analyzed by age of groom or by age of bride. There are a few differences, as noted in the summary above, but the pattern is not such as to lead to the conclusion that women as a group are more assortative than men.

(5) In those marriages involving single persons, there is an increase in assortativeness with increase in age at marriage, but in marriages between individuals previously married assortativeness decreases as age increases.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NEGRO-WHITE INTERMARRIED IN PHILADELPHIA *

JOSEPH GOLDEN

Florida State University

THE literature on Negro-white intermarriage has based itself frequently on surmise rather than on established facts. An empirical description of intermarried Negroes and whites may point up the need for further study of Negro-white intermarriage.

The present study is based on the Philadelphia marriages in every fifth year of the past 25-year period. The years studied were 1922, 1927, 1932, 1937, 1942, and 1947. These years include periods of war, post-war, prosperity and depression, and provide a sample of the present generation of Philadelphia marriages. It is believed that the 41 marriages entered upon in these years adequately represent marriages during the period 1922-1947.

Of the couples married in the above-men-

tioned years, only a few could be located. It was apparent, therefore, that a quicker method of locating cases must be followed. The author then interviewed about 75 persons who were thought to be in a position to know Negro-white families. These informants, together with information from the Negro-white families seen, yielded information about 141 Negro-white families. Fifty of these families were interviewed, leaving a group of 91 "families known, not interviewed."¹

We have, then, three groups of Negro-white families available for study:

- (a) The 41 families married during certain years between 1922 and 1947—the "Marriages 1922 to 1947" group. The License Bureau record on these cases yielded

* Thanks are due to Dr. T. Stanton Dietrich of Florida State University for his reading and helpful criticism.

¹ A complete account of the study may be found in Joseph Golden "Negro-White Marriage in Philadelphia," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1951.

several items susceptible to study: race by sex, age at marriage, place of birth, occupation, previous marital status. These factors are analyzed in the following pages.

- (b) The 91 "Families known, not interviewed." This group yielded only knowledge of the race of the spouses.
- (c) The 50 "Interviewed Families" were studied most intensively. All the families were interviewed once, most of them more than once. Interviews were usually arranged in advance—by telephone² or by correspondence.³ The interviews lasted usually about two and one-half hours, and took place mostly in the evening. In most cases, the first interview was with husband and wife together; later they were interviewed separately. A schedule was used to assist the author's memory. The interviews were focused to some extent in order to make it possible to obtain detailed information in several areas and not to prolong the interview unduly, but the author attempted to give as little direction as possible. The interviews were supplemented by interviews with relatives, friends, neighbors, and leaders of organizations to which the persons studied belonged. Besides these interviews, the author obtained autobiographies, diaries, letters, and other written and printed materials. When couples had been married in Philadelphia, the fact of their marriage, and other personal data, were verified by search at the License Bureau.

It cannot be stated with assurance that these 50 families studied constitute a representative sample of Negro-white intermarriages in Philadelphia for one generation. About 7 such marriages took place yearly during the period studied—1922 to 1947. If we consider this period as one generation of marriages, the total number of marriages would amount to 182 (26×7).

² The use of the telephone, which facilitated arrangements for interview, may have tended toward the selection of upper and middle class families.

³ Most of the families cooperated willingly in giving their time, in answering all questions, and in providing written materials. In a few instances, there was reluctance to be interviewed and even outright refusal. It is the author's feeling that, in some of these instances, the refusal to be interviewed may have been symptomatic of the lack of adjustment in marriage. It is well to keep this possi-

Race of Spouses. A review of previous studies⁴ makes it apparent that most Negro-white intermarriages take place between Negro men and white women. Only two studies depart significantly from this tendency. Schuyler's study of Cleveland⁵ claims that 41 per cent of the Negro-white intermarriages in that city were between Negro men and white women. The author's study⁶ of Negro-white intermarriages in Philadelphia from 1922 to 1947 shows 58.5 per cent of these marriages taking place between Negro men and white women (see Table 1). No explanation can be hazarded for this situation.

TABLE 1. NEGRO-WHITE INTERMARRIAGE—PHILADELPHIA: SPOUSES BY SEX AND RACE

| Sample | Total | Negro Groom White Bride | White Groom Negro Bride |
|---------------------------|-------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| Interviewed | | | |
| Families | 50 | 44 | 6 |
| Families | | | |
| Known, Not Interviewed | 91 | 72 | 19 |
| Marriages | | | |
| 1922 to 1947 | 41 | 24 | 17 |

Physical Characteristics of Negro Spouses. A study was made of certain physical characteristics which are commonly accepted as indices of membership in the Negroid stock. The classification of skin color was adapted from Warner.⁷

The figures presented may, perhaps, shed some light on the commonly-held opinion⁸

bility in mind as a possible factor in selection of the families studied.

⁴ Louis Wirth and Herbert Goldhamer, "The Hybrid and the Problem of Miscegenation," in Otto Klineberg (ed.), *Characteristics of the American Negro*, New York: 1944, Table 8, p. 282.

⁵ As discussed in Milton L. Barron, *People Who Intermarry*, Syracuse: 1946, p. 117, and in St. Clair Drake and Horace Cayton, *Black Metropolis*, New York: 1945, p. 138. F. N. Schuyler's work was not available and could, therefore, not be checked.

⁶ See Golden, *op. cit.*

⁷ W. L. Warner, et al., *Color and Human Nature: Negro Personality Development in a Northern City*, Washington: 1941, pp. 4, 17.

⁸ See, e.g., Frederick L. Hoffman, "Race Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro," *Publications of the American Economic Association*, XI, New York: 1896, pp. 198-199; E. B. Reuter, *The American Race Problem: A Study of the Negro*, New York: c. 1927, p. 134.

that it is the lighter mulattoes who tend to intermarry. It is obvious, from Table 2, that the majority of the Negro spouses, both men and women, of the group studied are

TABLE 2. NEGRO-WHITE INTERMARRIAGE—PHILADELPHIA: NEGRO SPOUSES BY SKIN COLOR AND HAIR FORM

| Physical Characteristic | | Groom | Bride |
|-------------------------|-------------|-------|-------|
| Skin Color | Dark Brown | 26 | 4 |
| | Light Brown | 14 | 0 |
| | Light | 2 | 2 |
| | White | 2 | 0 |
| | Total | 44 | 6 |
| Hair Form | Kinky | 30 | 4 |
| | Curly | 10 | 0 |
| | Straight | 4 | 2 |
| | Total | 44 | 6 |

Negroid in appearance. Besides employing the indices shown in the table, the author made an impressionistic judgment of the appearance of the Negro spouses, and rated them as follows:

| Appearance | Men | Women |
|-----------------|-----|-------|
| Negroid | 34 | 4 |
| Almost Passable | 6 | 2 |
| Passable | 4 | 0 |
| Total | 44 | 6 |

Ten of the 44 Negro men were either passable or almost passable. In marrying white women, they chose spouses who were more similar than dissimilar to them in the matter of skin color. Some of the remaining 34 Negro men may be said to have followed the practice on the part of upper class Negro men of marrying women lighter than they. Insofar as these men belonged to the Negro upper class, their choice of a wife reflected

their class standards. . . . "The women of this class are usually passable, light or fair in complexion but a larger proportion of the men are dark."⁹

Country of Birth. Some information exists in this area. Wirth and Goldhamer, studying nativity in Boston and New York State, found that foreign-born white males and native white females are over-represented in Negro-white marriages. The foreign-born white grooms had a much higher representation from the Continental nations than the white brides. Italians were heavily represented in both areas. "It is possible that color selection is in operation here and that among males the darker foreign nationalities are more likely to marry Negro women."¹⁰ It will be noted that a similar situation was found in Philadelphia.

Combining the two groups studied, both men and women, white and Negro, we find that 88 out of 91 Negroes were native-born. Of the 91 whites, however, twenty-one, or one out of three, were foreign-born. Their countries of birth are mainly those from which Negro soldiers obtained white wives during the Second World War. It is this group to which apply the generalizations concerning lack of acculturation as a factor in Negro-white intermarriage. In the case of one-third of the whites involved in these interracial marriages, we may say that one of the factors which facilitated intermarriage was the lack of knowledge of the American disapproval of such intermarriages.

Birth State of Native-Born Spouses. For this characteristic, two groups were studied. When both groups are combined, eighty-four out of 150 individuals were born in Pennsylvania, seven in other Middle Atlantic

⁹ Warner, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

¹⁰ Wirth and Goldhamer, *op. cit.*, p. 288.

TABLE 3. NEGRO-WHITE INTERMARRIAGE—PHILADELPHIA: SPOUSES BY RACE AND COUNTRY OF BIRTH

| | Marriages 1922 to 1947 | | | | | | Interviewed Families | | | | | | Total Both Studies |
|----------------------------|------------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|-------|----------------|----------------------|----------------|----------------|-------|-----|--|--------------------------|
| | Negro Groom | White Bride | White Groom | Negro Bride | Total | Negro Groom | White Bride | White Groom | Negro Bride | Total | | | |
| United States | 23 | 20 | 5 | 16 | 64 | 44 | 33 | 4 | 5 | 86 | 150 | | |
| Europe and Near East | .. | 4 | 8 | .. | 12 | .. | 11 | 2 | .. | 13 | 25 | | |
| Latin and South America | 1 | .. | 4 | 1 | 6 | .. | .. | .. | 1 | 1 | 7 | | |
| Total | 24 | 24 | 17 | 17 | 82 | 44 | 44 | 6 | 6 | 100 | 182 | | |

states, thirty-eight in the South Atlantic states, six in New England, seven in the North Central states, five in the South Central states, and three elsewhere.

Size of Community of Birth. When the spouses in Negro-white intermarriage are compared by urban or rural origin, it appears that most of them were born in an urban area. It should be remembered that this enumeration includes both native and foreign-born spouses. When only native-born spouses are considered, it is found that 63 out of 84 are of urban origin.

Previous Marital Status. The License Bureau group consists of 74 previously single persons, seven widowed and one divorced. Among the interviewed families, more than one-third of the Negro grooms and almost one-fourth of the white brides had been divorced. The Negro brides were all single women at the time of marriage. All previous marriages, whether terminated by divorce or by death, had been to spouses of the same race.

Age at Marriage. The difference between the median age of husband and wife is as follows: For the "Interviewed Families"—four years between husband and wife; for the "Marriages 1922 to 1947"—one and one-half years between Negro husband and white wife, 6 years between white husband and Negro wife. Since the median age at marriage for all spouses in both groups was 28, it seems that both groups married at a rather late age. It must be remembered, however, that, for a sizable number of these persons, their interracial venture represented a second marriage. The "Marriages 1922 to 1947" group included only 8 persons who were not single at the time of their interracial marriage, and the distortion is therefore not great; the "Interviewed Families," however, included 34 previously married persons, and demands further analysis. The median age at marriage for this group was as follows: Negro groom—26; white bride—21.5; white groom—26.5; Negro bride—22; total group—24.6. It is seen, then, that ruling out those previously married lowers the median age at marriage by about three and one-half years. The median for the total group of 24.6 may be compared with the national estimated median age at first marriage for men who had ever been married in 1940 of 24.3, and a similar

figure for women of 21.6.¹¹ It would appear, then, that the age at marriage of the women in this group is in line with the national trend, but that of the men is about two years greater than the national median figure. It is still, however, within the "period when half of the men have entered their first marriage . . . between the ages of about 22 and 28 years. . . ."¹²

Comparison of the age at marriage of the groom with that of the bride shows the following: In the group of "Marriages 1922 to 1947," 18 Negro husbands were older than their wives; 5 were the same age; one was younger. Of the white husbands, 12 were older than their wives; two were in the same age-group; three were younger.

In the group of "Interviewed Families," 26 Negro husbands were older, 5 were younger, and 13 were in the same age-group as their white wives. Four white husbands were older, and two were in the same age-group as their Negro wives.

Education. Information obtained from the interviewed couples on years of schooling completed is shown in Table 4. It seems that the white grooms and the Negro brides had a higher median education than the Negro grooms and the white brides. The median education of the whole group studied amounted to high-school completion. The four groups—Negro groom, white groom, Negro bride, white bride—show only small differences in their educational achievement.

Educational matching of the group studied shows that this group does not confirm the prevailing opinion that well-educated Negro men marry ignorant white women. Of 44 Negro men, 17 married white women on the same educational level, 12 married downward educationally, and 15 married up. The 2 men with less than 5 completed years of school married women of similar educational achievement; those who had completed 5 to 8 years of school married women with a greater or a similar amount of schooling; those with 9 to 12 years of school tended to marry women on the same educational level; those with 13 to 16 years of schooling tended to marry women somewhat below them in educational

¹¹ Paul C. Glick and Emanuel Landau, "Age As a Factor in Marriage," *American Sociological Review*, 15 (August, 1950), p. 517.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 518.

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achievement; those men who had done post-graduate work married women on the high school or college level. Up to the completion of high school, the Negro men married white women of similar or higher educational achievement; those with college education tended to marry women of similar or lower education. In the group of white husbands with Negro wives, the figures are too small to perceive any trend.

Occupation. One of the most significant components involved in assigning a class level to individuals is occupation. Concerning this characteristic there is an extreme sparsity of information. It is commonly believed, however, that "the legal marriages

occupationally superior to the gainfully employed Negro females in Boston. Almost three-fourths belonged to the "servant classes"; perhaps "Negro brides are predominantly made up of women whose daily work is likely to lead to close contact with whites."¹⁵

The figures presented by Wirth seem to show that white collar and unskilled Negro grooms tend to marry within their own occupational level, while the skilled and semiskilled Negro grooms tend to marry downward. White-collar, skilled and semiskilled white grooms tend to marry on their own level.¹⁶ In general, "Negro men marrying white women tend to marry white women

TABLE 4. NEGRO-WHITE INTERMARRIAGE—PHILADELPHIA: SPOUSES BY EDUCATION AND RACE

| Years of School Completed | Interviewed Families | | | | | Total Negro | Total White | Total |
|---------------------------|----------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--|-------------|-------------|-------|
| | Negro Groom | White Bride | White Groom | Negro Bride | | | | |
| Less than 5 | 2 | 2 | 2 | .. | | 2 | 4 | 6 |
| 5-8 | 11 | 3 | .. | 2 | | 13 | 3 | 16 |
| 9-12 | 16 | 28 | 1 | 1 | | 17 | 29 | 46 |
| 13-16 | 9 | 6 | 1 | 3 | | 12 | 7 | 19 |
| 17-20 | 6 | 5 | 2 | .. | | 6 | 7 | 13 |
| Total | 44 | 44 | 6 | 6 | | 50 | 50 | 100 |
| Median | 11.4 | 11.4 | 13. | 13. | | 11.4 | 11.4 | 12 |
| Mean | 10.5 | 10.8 | 10.7 | 10.7 | | 10.6 | 10.8 | 10.7 |

between whites and Negroes which have taken place have been predominantly, although far from exclusively, between individuals of the lower social classes."¹³

Wirth and Goldhamer present occupational distributions of the participants in Negro-white marriages in Boston from 1914 through 1938. They show that "The Negro grooms occupy superior occupational positions as compared with all gainfully employed Negro males . . . white grooms show about the same degree of inferiority when compared with the total white group as the Negro grooms show of superiority when compared with the total Negro group . . . the white brides exhibit occupationally inferior positions when compared with all white gainfully employed females in Boston."¹⁴ The Negro brides, however, were not

with low occupational status . . . to the extent that there is any deviation from this role it is in the direction of the marriage partners marrying within their own occupational rank."¹⁵

An occupational distribution was prepared for two Philadelphia groups: 41 marriages which took place in selected years between 1922 and 1947, and 50 interviewed families. Table 5 shows the occupational distribution of both groups according to Edwards' classification by socio-economic groups.¹⁶

In the case of the "Marriages 1922 to 1947," it appears that Negro grooms tended to be in the lower half of the occupational distribution, that white grooms tended to be in the upper half, that Negro brides were predominantly in the semiskilled and serv-

¹³ Everett V. Stonequist, "Race Mixture and the Mulatto," in E. T. Thompson (ed.), *Race Relations and the Race Problem*, Durham, N. C.: 1939, p. 253.

¹⁴ Wirth and Goldhamer, *op. cit.*, pp. 289-291.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 292.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Tables 14 and 15, pp. 293 and 294.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 296.

¹⁸ Alba M. Edwards, *Population: Comparative Occupational Statistics for the United States, 1870 to 1940*, Washington, D. C.: 1943, pp. 175-182.

ant group, while white brides tended to be servants or to have no occupation. The fifty "Interviewed Families" showed a different distribution. Half of the Negro, and more than half of the white grooms were found in the lower levels, while the white brides were distributed similarly to the Negro grooms.

It seems, then, that Negro-white intermarriage in Philadelphia is not restricted to any particular occupation. The group of marriages between 1922 and 1947 shows an occupational distribution much more nearly like that of the general population than does that of the "Interviewed Fam-

We next study the occupational matching between white husbands and their Negro wives. In the group of "Marriages 1922 to 1947," ten husbands were above their wives, four on the same level, two below, and one married a woman "not gainfully employed." In the "Interviewed Families" group, four husbands outranked their wives, and two were on the same level.

In both groups, the majority of Negro husbands were either on an equal or higher level than their white wives, and most of the white husbands outranked or equaled their Negro wives in occupational status.

It would seem, then, that the situation

TABLE 5. NEGRO-WHITE INTERMARRIAGE—PHILADELPHIA: OCCUPATION AT TIME OF MARRIAGE OF SPOUSES BY RACE

| | Marriages 1922 to 1947 | | | | Interviewed Families | | | |
|------------------------------------|------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|----------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| | Negro Groom | White Bride | White Groom | Negro Bride | Negro Groom | White Bride | White Groom | Negro Bride |
| Professional persons | 1 | — | 1 | 1 | 15 | 13 | 3 | 2 |
| Proprietors, managers, & officials | 1 | — | 3 | — | 4 | — | 1 | — |
| Clerks & kindred workers | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 6 | — | — |
| Skilled workers & foremen | 3 | 1 | 5 | — | 4 | 3 | — | — |
| Semiskilled workers | 8 | 4 | 1 | 6 | 8 | 10 | 2 | 1 |
| Unskilled workers | 5 | 9 | 5 | 8 | 10 | 11 | — | 3 |
| Total gainfully employed | 22 | 17 | 17 | 16 | 44 | 43 | 6 | 6 |
| No occupation | 2 | 7 | — | 1 | — | 1 | — | — |
| Total | 24 | 24 | 17 | 17 | 44 | 44 | 6 | 6 |

ilies," which is heavily weighted in the upper levels.

Significant findings should result from an occupational matching of the spouses. Does Negro-white marriage in Philadelphia tend to take place between occupational equals, or is there a great occupational distance between the spouses? Does the Negro spouse exchange his occupational superiority for the white spouse's superiority in race?

We have for study two groups of marriages in which the husband is Negro and the wife white. In the "Marriages 1922 to 1947," seven husbands ranked above their wives occupationally, eight were on the same level, four were below their wives, and five were married to women "not gainfully employed." Of the Negro husbands in the "Interviewed Families," fifteen outranked their wives, nineteen were on the same level, nine were occupationally inferior to their wives, and one was married to a woman "not gainfully employed."

in Philadelphia differs from that in Boston, where "all Negro men marrying white women tend to marry white women with low occupational status, and that to the extent that there is any deviation from this rule it is in the direction of the marriage partners marrying within their own occupational rank."¹⁹ The Philadelphia situation seems, rather, to be one of a tendency toward homogamy in the occupational area.

Religion. Table 6 may be of some interest since data on the religious affiliation of the intermarried are almost completely lacking. One is struck by the relatively large number of Roman Catholics among the Negro husbands, the white husbands and the white wives. The latter two categories are probably explainable by the national derivation of these two groupings—the foreign-born white men, and the white women from Catholic countries who married Negro service-

¹⁹ Wirth and Goldhamer, *op. cit.*, p. 296.

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TABLE 6. NEGRO-WHITE INTERMARRIAGE—PHILADELPHIA: RELIGION OF SPOUSES BY RACE

| | Interviewed Families | | | | | |
|----------------|----------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|-------|--|
| | Negro Groom | White Bride | White Groom | Negro Bride | Total | |
| Roman Catholic | 7 | 8 | 3 | 1 | 19 | |
| Baptist | 17 | 6 | - | 3 | 26 | |
| Jewish | - | 19 | - | - | 19 | |
| Methodist | 13 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 19 | |
| Episcopal | 5 | 3 | 1 | - | 9 | |
| Lutheran | 1 | 4 | 1 | - | 6 | |
| Congregational | 1 | - | - | - | 1 | |
| Reformed | - | 1 | - | - | 1 | |
| Total | 44 | 44 | 6 | 6 | 100 | |

men. Outstanding among the white brides are the Jewish women. Whether this phenomenon is to be explained by the fact that the Jews in the United States constitute a minority group is an open question.

Matching of the spouses in the area of religion (Table 7) shows a very great degree of heterogamy. When only the three great religious groupings are considered (Protestant, Catholic, Jewish), it will be seen that sixteen marriages were between Protestants and five between Catholics, but

twenty-three represent religiously mixed marriages. Of these, eighteen were between Protestants and Jews, four between Protestants and Catholics, and one between Catholic and Jew. Of the sixteen marriages between Protestants, only two were inter-denominational. The other fourteen were inter-denominational. Such marriages "could involve as many wide differences as any interfaith marriage,"²⁰ since membership in different Protestant denominations may represent wide differences of attitudes and behavior in several cultural aspects.

Less than half of the marriages, then, were homogamous in the matter of religion. We are dealing with a group of marriages which are mixed not only in regard to race but also in religion. It is, however, open to question whether this fact connotes dissimilarity of attitudes on the part of the spouses. Since 38 of these persons had no church affiliation before marriage, the differences between them were, perhaps, slighter than the figures seem to imply.

²⁰ Judson T. and Mary G. Landis, *Building a Successful Marriage*, New York: 1949, p. 152.

TABLE 7. NEGRO-WHITE INTERMARRIAGE—PHILADELPHIA: RELIGION OF GROOM BY RELIGION OF BRIDE

NOTES ON RESEARCH AND TEACHING



THE MEASUREMENT OF GROUP LEARNING PROCESS BY USE OF THE INTERACTIONAL TELEMETER

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The present paper describes and illustrates some uses of a new electrical instrument of research—the interactional telemeter. Its central purpose is to provide a speaker with a report—continuously or at intervals convenient to him and his audience—of the reactions of listeners.¹ The application described in the present paper is to the classroom teaching process. The telemeter provides the leader with a continuous and accurate record of reactions of various kinds to the class session, furnishing a kind of mirror before which he can practice his art.

CONSTRUCTION OF THE INSTRUMENT

To be useful in various classrooms and auditoriums, the instrument had to be portable. An inexpensive device, made of parts available in an electrical engineering department, was constructed. The essential parts consist, first, of one lightweight variable potentiometer for each member of the audience, designed to fit the hand conveniently, and each is furnished with

* The interactional telemeter was designed and constructed by W. W. Philbrick, who is Assistant to Dean, College of Engineering, University of Washington.

The assistance of Charley H. Broaded, Director of Industrial Relations, Fisher Flouring Mills, Seattle, Washington, is gratefully acknowledged.

¹ Similar cybernetic instruments are Herbert Thelan's "feeling introspectometer" or "audio-introspectometer," the "Program Analyzer" used by Lazarsfeld and Stanton, an "opinion meter" developed by the General Electric Company, and of course the psychogalvanometer in common use in psychological research. For other examples see Robert F. Bales, *Interaction Process Analysis*, Cambridge: Addison-Wesley Press, 1950; Eliot D. Chapple, "The Interactional Chronograph: Its Evolution and Present Application," *Personnel* (January, 1949); Delbert C. Miller, "An Experiment in the Measurement of Social Interaction in Group Discussion," *American Sociological Review*, 6 (June, 1938), pp. 341-351.

a rotating dial which can be easily turned by the left thumb as a baseball umpire registers strikes on his hand counter (see Figure 1). The second part is a recording instrument for the speaker's desk, connected by wires to the potentiometers. In use, the members of the audience report by turning their dials to any of the marked positions, 1 to 5, according to their degrees of understanding of the lecture, interest in the performance, or other agreed variable. The voltage from each potentiometer is added and the sum indicated either on a meter or on a continuous graph. This sum is read on a scale of 100 maximum and represents a mean of the class opinion.

PROBLEMS OF COMMUNICATION

The Selection of a Valid Variable. The employment of the Interactional Telemeter raised two problems. First, there was the question of what kind of information group members would be able to communicate anonymously through a dial that would, in turn, be meaningful to the teacher *at the instant* for the extension or modification of his behavior. Second, there was the question of validating the readings appearing on the recording instrument so that the teacher could act upon them with confidence. Both of these problems must be solved to make the data useful to the improvement of teaching or group leadership of any kind.

We shall treat each of these problems separately. In this section the concern will be with variables considered as kinds of communicable information. The first variables tested included the following:²

² At the beginning of a class, the teacher would give the following directions to the students:

"Your hand meter will enable you to express your opinions as the class proceeds. To express these opinions follow the code:

1. Thoroughly understand
2. Mostly understand
3. Hazy
4. Don't understand most of this
5. Don't understand at all.

"You may use any number from 1 to 5 to express the degree of understanding you feel you have of the subject being discussed at a given time. No one can tell what you have inserted as your degree of

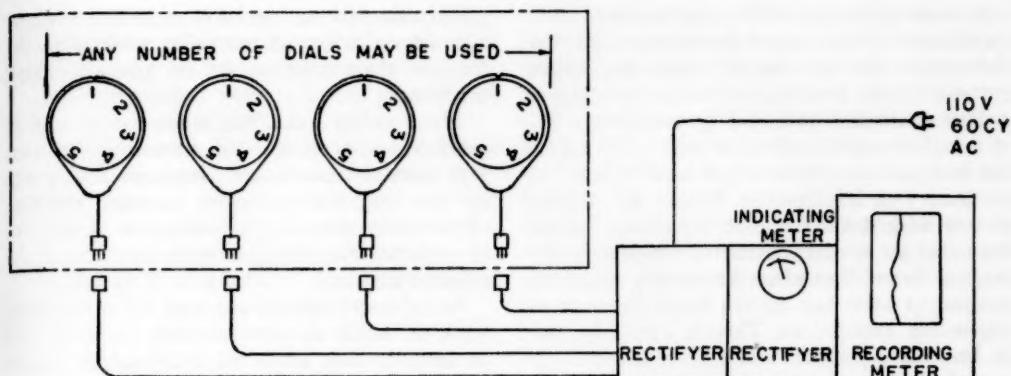


FIGURE 1. Diagram of Interactional Telemeter Showing Hand Dials and Meters.

The variables seemed to be those which would enable respondents to give a leader information of value in making judgments of his success while directing a learning group. Each was tested under normal classroom teaching conditions. The problem was to find a variable to which group members could consistently respond with-

understanding. Turn your dial to the number that describes your understanding of the discussion."

Similar instructions were given when other variables were used.

MEANING

1. Thoroughly understand
2. Mostly understand
3. Hazy
4. Don't understand most of this
5. Don't understand at all

IMPORTANCE

1. Very important to me
2. Important to me
3. Undecided
4. Not important to me
5. Completely unimportant

INTEREST

1. Very interesting
2. Interesting
3. Indifferent
4. Dull
5. Boring

PACE

1. Go much faster
2. Somewhat faster
3. Just right
4. Go slower
5. Go much slower

INVOLVEMENT

1. Very much involved
2. Some involvement
3. Undecided
4. Very little involvement
5. No involvement

out ambiguity at any time during a classroom period. The researchers interviewed a sample of respondents to find out what they were trying to communicate and to check their reactions against the variable they had asked the respondents to use.

Frequent use of the variables, *meaning*, *importance*, and *interest*, did not satisfy us as to their validity. The interviews indicated that these variables were not being used in a uniform way. For example, we found that some learners would be reporting a high incidence of *understanding*, but on examination, understanding of the subject would often prove to be deficient. When those with deficient understanding were questioned about their dial settings of 1 and 2 which they put in the telemeter, they replied they thought they understood, that they believed they knew in a general way what was being discussed. Other variables also introduced problems. Respondents often claimed that they found it difficult or impossible to make ratings. *Interest* was one of these difficult variables. On the other hand *pace* was easily indicated but its usefulness ended when a proper tempo was found. We then tried *involvement* but the word did not have common meaning to the respondents and we considered it invalid. Finally, a last variable was tested. It was *want*. This variable was coded as follows:

1. Getting just what I want
2. Getting mostly what I want
3. All right
4. Only getting a little of what I want
5. Not getting anything out of it that I want

Respondents have indicated that they can react to this variable in a meaningful way and our experience demonstrates that this is the best single index of communication that a teacher can get quickly and accurately. We have therefore used this variable exclusively during the succeeding several months of experimentation.

Recording. Several different plans were tried. Participants were asked to change the dial "whenever you feel like it," upon the spoken request of the teacher, upon the sounding of a time controlled bell, and by sounding a bell at a logical point in the discussion. We believe the best plan is to have a bell used at intervals of from 7 to 15 minutes. It may be sounded at any logical time in the discussion. In the beginning we tried to secure continuous recording, but found that after the novelty wears off, continuous attention to the hand meter is an impossible expectation. This is especially true in learning situations where the learner is expected to follow the discussion and perhaps take notes or solve problems.

Reactions of Participants to the Telemeter. In nearly all cases, where the participants understood that the object of using the equipment was to improve teaching methods, little adverse criticism was openly voiced. In two instances, participants, in conversations with outsiders, stated that the use of the instrument helped them to concentrate on the subject. However, one group discontinued its use because it was a hindrance to them.

In most of the recent work, the inked record has been in full view of the group. The effect of this is not known, but most participants look at the instrument after the bell rings to see what happened.

Reaction of Group Leaders to the Telemeter. The reactions of group leaders to the telemeter are as difficult to evaluate as that of the participants. One leader felt the use of the instrument reduced the "friendly" feeling in the class, and discontinued its use. Another found it difficult to look at the instrument during discussion. Clearly, the reaction of the leader depended upon his appraisal of the usefulness of the data to him. One highly experienced leader, after using the instrument for a number of times, said that he was never surprised by the curve. This leader, on a number of occasions, was able to predict quite accurately *before and after the class session* what the curve would be.

In all cases in which a leader used the equipment fairly extensively, his reaction was to do a great deal more thinking (and worrying) about teaching objectives and methods, to start some research in his teaching, and to alter some of his ideas.

VALIDATION OF THE TELEMEETER READING

It has been stated that validity of the telemeter readings has posed two requirements: the identification of a qualitative variable which respondents can use to judge their own reactions to a group learning process and communicate

quickly through an electrical recording system; and the validation of telemeter readings to determine their relationship to group learning products.

The Validity Test. The most crucial test of validity would be a clear demonstration that high telemeter scores are associated with group learning and that as scores increase, teaching effectiveness does, in fact, increase. A number of experimental designs were considered for experimental test.

An informal method was used for exploratory work on kinds of communicable variables and to identify the kinds of relationships which might be discovered with telemeter scores. The central feature of this design is the option of the teacher to use any method or technique he freely chooses. In our research four teachers were observed in over 80 classroom sessions. Two were college instructors. The first taught a number of undergraduate courses. A third was an industrial relations director who taught university extension classes. A fourth was a group dynamics leader who directed a mixed adult group during a series of institute meetings conducted by the Seattle Public Schools. In one classroom group, four business and industrial leaders were invited to speak. Telemeter readings were gathered during their presentations.

A skilled observer can be used to advantage in the research setting and we almost always used one. The observer sat by the continuous graph. He noted on the recorder tape any information which he felt was pertinent to the group process. He noted leader activity, the type of group activity, struggle over leadership, degree of permissiveness, and other matters. On occasion he operated a sound recorder.

Tests of the Interactional Telemeter. The tests undertaken were directed at five questions:

(1) Are there variables which will enable respondents to communicate data that will be meaningful and useful for redirection of group processes?

(2) Are there any teaching methods which will consistently give high readings on the telemeter?

(3) Will teachers show consistent or fluctuating telemeter records?

(4) Will a high curve be correlated with learning output?

(5) Will a teacher be able to predict in advance of a session after his preparation is complete what his telemeter readings will be at the beginning, middle, and end of the session?

Three general types of analysis have been made of all telemeter curves.

Type A. Temporal Sequences of Individual Curves. We have given special attention to the

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progression of the curves over the time length of each session. The significance of positive and negative slope to the curves has been investigated. Any marked changes in the direction of curves have been studied.

Type B. Session Differences under the Same Teacher. We have identified differences discovered between two or more sessions held under the same leaders with the same learners.

Type C. Session Similarities and Differences Exhibited by Four Teachers. We have identified

want." The range of response has been converted to percentages so that five gradations may be shown. The figure 0 means all members are responding as "not getting anything out of it I want," and 100 refers to all members responding "getting just what I want."

The telemeter curve shows a marked upward trend. The curve is paralleled by increasing student participation which begins to involve most participants when the group begins to give examples and ask questions. The curve shows

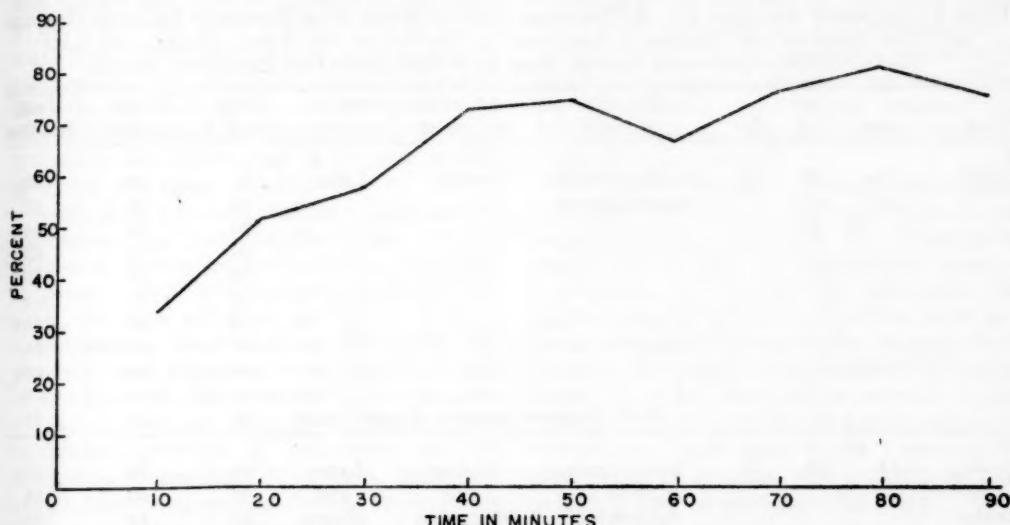


FIGURE 2. A Telemeter Record made in Two Graduate Seminars Showing Trend of Curve Associated with Content and Activity of Session

Principles

The teacher describes the basic concepts of sociometry.

Illustrations

The teacher describes illustrations of sociometry applied to industry.

Examples from Group

Graduate students give other examples of sociometric techniques in industry.

Questions from Group

Is the happy worker an efficient worker? What do you do workers with isolates?

Problems of Application

How would you go about regrouping in two groups? Do plants? sociometric techniques increase segregation of minority members?

similarities and differences in telemeter sessions under the four different leaders in the four different populations. In every instance the criterion has been the telemeter reading. Our objective has been the identification of significant determiners of that reading.

Type A. Study of Temporal Sequences in Individual Curves. In gathering the data for each individual curve the strategy was to have an observer record selected aspects of the interaction between the leader and group as respondents were recording their reactions on the telemeter. A record from a graduate seminar session of eight persons is reproduced (see Figure 2). The readings in this Figure were made as respondents were reacting to "what I

its highest record of "getting what I want" when problems of application were discussed. This habit of mind which thinks for the purpose of conduct and achievement and not solely for the sake of knowing has been called the executive tendency by John Dewey.⁸ It has become the object of much interest to us since a high correlation between the executive tendency and the telemeter score has been frequently noted.

Type B. Study of Session Differences under the Same Teacher. A graduate seminar was held just one week before that shown in Figure 2.

⁸ John Dewey, *How We Think*. New York: D. C. Heath and Company, 1933, p. 228.

The same learners and the same leader met together. The reading at the end of the first ten minutes was 30. At the end of each successive ten-minute period, readings were 20, 29, 26, 31, 35, 24, 27, and 38 respectively. (These readings are low when compared with those in Figure 2.) The group found no problem of its own. It listened politely to a leader who lectured and illustrated certain sociological principles. All interaction was directed toward the leader in question-answer fashion. The leader tried to

engage the group in discussion but did not succeed.

The difference between the two sessions has reappeared in a number of comparisons. All teachers and group leaders seem to have sessions which fail to arouse the group.

Type C. Study of Session Similarities and Differences Exhibited by Four Teachers (including four business and industrial speakers). The telemeter readings of four teachers over a number of sessions are shown in Table 1. The

TABLE 1. TELEMETER READINGS FOR 28 CLASSROOM SESSIONS UNDER FOUR DIFFERENT TEACHERS (INCLUDING FOUR BUSINESS AND INDUSTRIAL SPEAKERS) AS SHOWN AT THE FIRST, MIDDLE, AND LAST READING OF EACH CLASSROOM SESSION. EACH ROW REPRESENTS ONE CLASSROOM SESSION.

| Class | Age | Sex | Size | Purpose of Leader | Activity of Leader | Member Activity | First Reading | Middle Reading | Last Reading |
|--|-------|---------|------|--|--|--------------------|--|--|--|
| I. | | | | | | | | | |
| Adult | 25-60 | M and F | 35 | Teach essentials of management | Lecture | Listen | 67 40 54 64 66 53 92 60 60 | 86 84 69 75 75 75 82 64 64 | 88 82 74 80 70 80 64 64 64 |
| | | | | | | | — | — | — |
| | | | | | | | 62 | 76 | 75 |
| Nine classroom sessions. General mean | | | | | | | | | |
| II. | | | | | | | | | |
| Junior and Senior | 24-35 | M | 14 | Demonstrate solution of engineering problems | Lecture and discussion | Listen and discuss | 66 23 83 66 32 46 68 80 83 | 74 50 83 50 15 35 80 90 78 | 73 76 58 42 14 28 80 88 72 |
| | | | | | | | — | — | — |
| | | | | | | | 61 | 62 | 59 |
| Nine classroom sessions. General mean | | | | | | | | | |
| III. | | | | | | | | | |
| Graduate | 23-38 | M and F | 6 | Inform | Four outside speakers who tell how they operate their business | Listen | 67 86 92 | 60 88 92 | 87 86 91 |
| | | | | | | | — | — | — |
| | | | | | | | 82 | 80 | 88 |
| Three classroom sessions. General mean | | | | | | | | | |
| IV. | | | | | | | | | |
| Adults | 25-55 | M and F | 20 | Teach group dynamics approach to leadership | Leader assumes role of discussion chairman | Group discussion | 75 65 60 55 | 62 61 57 53 | 47 52 49 50 |
| | | | | | | | — | — | — |
| | | | | | | | 64 | 58 | 49 |
| Four classroom sessions. General mean | | | | | | | | | |

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Table shows mean records secured at the first reading, the middle reading, and the last reading of a class session. An analysis of variance was made for leaders at each of these three reading positions. The variance between leaders' readings and within their own readings reveals significance for the last reading only. An F of 3.02 was secured. As the corresponding F for the 5 per cent level is 2.78 and 4.22 for the 1 per cent level, it can be concluded that the differences among leaders are not due to chance in the last reading and may be regarded as significant at the 5 per cent level. It appears to us that it takes respondents some time to evaluate a classroom session as a unit of experience and that it is at the last reading that sharper gradations are to be expected. An understanding of these differences has been sought in observer records of leader and group activity.

Aside from personality differences, important differences exist between the leaders in their goals and the amount and kind of student participation which is encouraged. Activities and goals, we have noted in the course of these measurements, have included differential emphasis in such outcomes as teaching knowledge of fundamentals, effective thinking, performance of certain acts or skills in accordance with established principles or philosophy, and development of new ideas or methods. These outcomes have been pursued by the leaders who have employed such methods as lecture, discussion, demonstration, outside speakers, and case analysis.

RESULTS

On the basis of the 80 classroom sessions, examined by two or more observers, the following conclusions can be tentatively made:

(1) One variable was found to be meaningful to the respondents and useful to the lecturer—the question whether the former were "getting what they want." The telemeter report indicates whether methods in use by the lecturer succeed or fail in providing this kind of want satisfaction, but it does not of course inform the lecturer in advance of what particular action he should take. By using the variable, "want," a group leader can appraise his success in leading a group where its members want to go. The possibility of improving teaching effectiveness through the use of such an instrument constitutes the major research contribution and challenge of this report.

(2) High readings resulted from a fitting of method to the wants of the participants. No one method was found to give consistently high readings on the instrument. Methods accompanying high readings include the presentation of real problems and appeal to the "executive

tendency." Both teachers and selected outside speakers rated high when they employed these techniques in developing a main theme. The use of subject matter so that it focused on the border of the learners' knowledge was effective in arousing interest. Variety and novelty helped to maintain interest and induce high readings.

(3) Telemeter readings have been observed in some sessions to have remained relatively constant over the entire session. However, wide fluctuations are common for the same classes and for the same teacher. It is believed that a system of four major variables is operating to produce variations in telemeter readings. These are the *Leader*, *Participants*, *Subject*, and *Methods*. It is the interplay of these variables which is being recorded.

(4) Other questions of interest await further research. Judging from the experience of one lecturer, it may be possible for a teacher to predict in advance his approximate level of performance for the day. The relation of high level to amount of learning is yet to be investigated, although it appears logical to expect some positive relationship. Relationships may also be sought to student examination records, student ratings of teacher's skill, and faculty ratings of the teacher. Applications of the instrument to other fields of research, such as public opinion polling, appear to have potential value.

A NOTE ON THE BURGESS-DAVIE, FIREY DIFFERENCES REGARDING INDUSTRIAL LOCATION

LEO G. REEDER

University of Minnesota

In a study recently completed, certain interesting facts emerged bearing on the Burgess hypothesis of concentric-zone pattern of cities and the location of industry.¹ Readers will recall that the Burgess hypothesis was subjected to criticism by such writers as Alihan, Davie, and Firey.² The two latter sociologists particularly called attention to the factor of industrial location as a major weakness in this hypothesis.

¹ Leo G. Reeder, "Industrial Location in the Chicago Metropolitan Area with Special Reference to Population," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1952.

² Milla Alihan, *Social Ecology*, New York: Columbia Press, 1938. Maurice R. Davie, "The Pattern of Urban Growth," in G. P. Murdock (ed.), *Studies in the Science of Society*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937. Walter Firey, *Land Use in Central Boston*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1946.

Davie's main criticism of the Burgess hypothesis was founded on the claim that it fails to take account of the factor of industrial and railroad utilization.³ He claimed that industry was located near the means of transportation by water or rail, wherever in the city this may be. In his study of land use in Boston, Firey also concerned himself with the problem of industrial location and attempted to show that industry was located along rail lines.⁴

The data in the present study clearly indicate that modifications and distinctions are needed in the viewpoints of Davie and Firey with regard to industrial location. But before turning to the examination of the data a brief statement of the kinds of data used and the methods employed in this study will be presented.

DATA AND PROCEDURE

The period 1941 through 1950 was selected for analysis because the data for the city of Chicago were available only for this period. The major sources of data were: (1) the annual reports of the industrial division of the public utility companies. These records were highly reliable because of the fact that manufacturing establishments must make application to these companies for electrical power and for discontinuance of electrical power; (2) the records furnished by the Association of Commerce and Industry of Chicago, which were used primarily to show the movement of industry within the city of Chicago; (3) supplementary field studies, questionnaire surveys, and interviews.

The data were ordered into the following categories: (1) new establishments in the city, including newly organized and branch plants; (2) the former locations of plants that moved within the city; (3) the former locations of plants that moved out of the city. All of these data were examined by type of industry and size of establishment in terms of number of employees. The data were then plotted on maps of the city showing rail lines.

RESULTS

The present study shows that the bulk of industry did not locate adjacent to rail lines. In the 1941-1950 decade these industrial establishments exhibited no consistent pattern of location with respect to the rail pattern in the city of Chicago. In the Inner Zone of the city, for example, a large number of plants located in two segments where there are no rail lines.⁵

³ Davie, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

⁴ Firey, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

⁵ The Inner Zone consists of the Local Community Areas generally included in Burgess' Zones

TABLE 1. THE LOCATION OF INDUSTRIAL ESTABLISHMENTS IN CHICAGO, 1940-1951

| Category | Non-Rail | Rail |
|---|----------|------|
| New Establishments | 165 | 93 |
| Intra-City Movements* | 59 | 43 |
| Former Location of Plants that Moved from Chicago | 158 | 68 |
| Total | 382 | 204 |

* The new location of establishments that moved from the Inner Zone to the Outer Zone and vice versa.

In the Outer Zone of the city, relatively few plants located on the Southeast side of the city, despite the fact that 74 per cent of the vacant land available for industrial use was south of 95th Street and 47 per cent of the land was adjacent to Lake Calumet. Furthermore, most of the land in this sector was owned by the railroads! Of the 7.3 per cent of the plants that moved from the Inner to the Outer Zone and located in the Southeast Sector, only one located adjacent to Lake Calumet. None of the plants that moved from the Outer to the Inner Zone (8) located in this sector. Only 1.11 per cent of the new establishments in the city located in this sector of the city.

CONCLUSIONS

Contrary to the claims made by Davie, Firey and others in their criticism of the Burgess concentric-zone hypothesis, industry does not merely locate wherever there are rail lines. The present study shows that there are differentials with respect to such matters as: (1) the size of the establishment (number of employees), (2) type of product manufactured, and most important of all; (3) the amount of tonnage received and shipped by rail, that determine the location of an industrial plant on a rail siding. Investigation in the Chicago Standard Metropolitan Area shows: (a) the railroad lines usually own the right-of-way along both sides of the tracks (in the city and suburban areas); (b) the railroad is a profit-making venture, hence it restricts the sale or lease of its property to firms that will provide a maximum of revenue; (c) these industrial firms usually turn out to be those employing more than 100 workers.

The present study shows that the vast majority of establishments employing fewer than 100 workers were not located along rail lines. Furthermore, these establishments constituted

I, II and part of Zone III. The two segments of this zone are bounded by the following thoroughfares: Segment 1, by Western, Milwaukee, Diversey and Chicago Avenues; Segment 2, by Fulton Street, Western Avenue, Roosevelt Road, and the Chicago River.

the most numerous group of industrial plants in the City and the Standard Metropolitan Area. The smaller concern, although it may desire to make use of rail facilities, will usually have a difficult time securing a location adjacent to rail lines.

If, on the other hand, one limits oneself to the location of the larger establishments, then it will be found that they tend to be located alongside the railroad right-of-way. Examination of Firey's data shows that he worked with indus-

trial establishments employing 250 or more workers. It is reasonable to expect that such plants may provide heavy revenues to the railroads and, therefore, would likely be located along rail lines.

It is necessary for us to revise our thinking about industrial location to take into account the factors of amount and kind of shipping carried on by the industrial establishments and the number of employees, as criteria for their location in the urban complex.

COMMUNICATIONS AND OPINION



THE LEES AND DIFFERENTIAL NEGRO FERTILITY

To the Editor:

In the August number of the *Review*, Everett and Anne Lee discussed "Differential Fertility of the American Negro." Their analyses of their statistics provoke the following questions.

(1) They remark: "The apparently lower fertility of the Negro . . . is not real but an artifact of the measure of fertility used and the statistics from which it was computed" (page 439). They suggest correction factors which would indicate that the standardized fertility rate for Negroes, instead of being three per cent lower than that of whites, would actually be thirty per cent higher than for the white race. They remark that "the degree of error is not the same for different regions or for different socio-economic groups." They further comment that: "Since the same income and the same number of years of education does not mean the same social status within the two races, the tables given in this paper should be used only to compare general trends of fertility and not to compare specific ratios of whites and Negroes." But, if their criticisms of the data are valid, how can their conclusions be of any significance except to point up the unreliability of the Census on this subject? Under the restrictions which they propose, I find it difficult to put any verifiable meaning into their phrase "general trends of fertility." All of the conclusions which they summarize on pages 446-7 are rendered dubious by the statistical questions which the Lees themselves have raised.

(2) The correction which the Lees propose to offset differences in infant mortality of the two races is, however, irrelevant and objectionable. From the standpoint of exploring the net reproductive rates of the two races, the number of surviving children under five years of age per thousand native white and Negro women, aged 20-49, is preferable to the number of children born per thousand women—even if the latter figure were available. The reproductive rate depends upon the number of survivors, and while some of the children under five years of age are destined to die before reaching the age of five, the bulk of the infant mortality has already been subtracted, since the majority of such children have already survived the early months, in which infant mortality is high.

(3) In spite of the reservations stated by the Lees, there is one segment of their data from which reasonably trustworthy conclusions appear to be obtainable. The number of Negro children not enumerated, and the number not living with their parents, would be smallest in the category of women "married once, husband present." In this group, it seems reasonable to assume that the correction cited by the Lees is of relatively negligible importance. Under that assumption, the following ratios emerge when Negroes and whites of similar home rentals and similar educational levels are compared.

The above table shows that, while the general ratio of Negro to native white fertility rate, for the group "married once, husband present," is 1.05, this higher fertility of the Negroes is due entirely to their concentration in the lower economic and educational groups, where fertility tends to be higher. When rental values and education are held constant, Negro fertility is found to be markedly lower in every subgroup except that in which homes rent from \$30-39. Among Negroes having less than five years of schooling, the fertility is approximately three-quarters that of the whites.

(4) Since the above analysis seems to establish at least a reasonable hypothesis that the Negro reproduction rate is lower than that of whites who have had the same amounts of schooling and who live in houses renting for similar amounts, the question arises as to possible reasons for such a deficiency in Negro reproduction. The Lees (like most previous authors in this field) fail even to mention what seems to be the most obvious hypothesis to account for the lower reproductive rate of Negroes than of whites. This is the well-known fact that Negroes have several times as high venereal disease rates as whites, and that venereal disease is one of the most powerful factors in reducing birth rates and increasing infant mortality.

One question which might well arise in considering this hypothesis is the fact that syphilis and other venereal diseases are much more prevalent in the lower economic and educational groups than in the higher, and that since Negroes are concentrated in such groups, their excess venereal-disease rate might possibly be due entirely to their greater poverty and ignorance. This objection can be checked by consulting statistics relative to venereal disease on the part

**NEGRO FERTILITY RATIOS
FOR WOMEN MARRIED ONCE, HUSBAND PRESENT ***

| By Economic Status | | By Educational Status | |
|------------------------------|---|----------------------------------|---|
| Monthly Rental Value of Home | Negro Fertility Divided by Native White | Number of School Years Completed | Negro Fertility Divided by Native White |
| Under \$5 | .92 | None | .74 |
| 5-9 | .80 | 1-4 | .77 |
| 10-14 | .78 | 5-6 | .85 |
| 15-19 | .90 | 7-8 | .89 |
| 20-29 | .94 | High school 1-3 | .98 |
| 30-39 | 1.07 | High school 4 | .92 |
| | | College 1-3 | .74 |

* Source of data: Everett S. and Anne S. Lee, *op. cit.*, Tables 4 and 5.

of the Negro race. For example, Dr. H. H. Hazen of the United States Public Health Service has published a pamphlet entitled "Syphilis in the Negro."¹ On page 8 of that study, a table is given showing that in the Chicago serologic study of 1938-40, 10.9 per cent of the 65,182 Negroes blood-tested gave positive syphilitic reactions, as compared with 1.4 per cent of the 362,897 white persons tested. On page viii of the same pamphlet, a table is given showing the income distribution of the Negro and white general population, and of the syphilitic population, in Washington, D. C., in 1939. While these two studies are not exactly comparable, it is possible, by combining these two items of statistical information, to make an at least suggestive estimate as to the comparative syphilitic rate among Negroes and whites of different economic groups. The result shows that, among Negroes with incomes less than one thousand dollars per year, the syphilis rate is nearly four times as great as among whites in the same income group. In the income group from \$1,000 to \$2,999 per year, the Negro rate is nearly seven times that of whites, while in the income group over \$3,000 the Negro rate is a little less than six times as great as that among the whites.²

¹ Supplement Number 15 to Venereal Disease Information, Federal Security Agency, U. S. Public Health Service, 1942.

² The above ratios are arrived at by assuming that the syphilitic rates among Negroes and whites

Such evidence should point toward the conclusion that the higher venereal disease rate among Negroes is not a mere matter of economic status. Presumably, Negroes have a higher venereal disease rate as a result of the shattering of the mores of their ancestors by their being kidnapped from Africa, being enslaved on American plantations, having their families disrupted by sales of husbands and wives to different plantations, and having their women more or less systematically despoiled sexually by their white owners and by other whites. Under those historic circumstances it would hardly be expected that the Negroes would maintain a level of monogamistic fidelity comparable to that of whites of the same economic status, and venereal disease rates notoriously are fairly closely connected with rates of promiscuity—at least for individuals of a given economic and educational status.

If (as seems plausible from the above considerations) the lower reproductive rates of Negroes as compared with whites of comparable economic and educational status is due to the higher venereal disease rate among Negroes, then a significant population forecast emerges. The syphilitic and gonorrhreal disease rates are evidently being rapidly reduced by the use of

in Washington, D. C., in 1939, were the same per 1000 of population as those found in the Chicago serological study, 1938-40. Under this assumption, Table 1 of the Hazen pamphlet develops into the following:

**ESTIMATED SYPHILITIC INCIDENCE AMONG WHITES AND NEGROES
OF WASHINGTON, D. C., 1939, BY INCOME GROUPS**

| Annual income | White | | | Negro | | | Ratio: Negro ÷ White |
|-----------------|------------|------------|---------------------|------------|------------|---------------------|----------------------------|
| | Population | Syphilitic | Syphilitic per 1000 | Population | Syphilitic | Syphilitic per 1000 | |
| General | | | | General | | | |
| Under \$1,000 | 186 | 6.0 | 32.3 | 777 | 94.4 | 121.4 | 3.8 |
| \$1,000-\$2,999 | 657 | 6.3 | 9.6 | 216 | 14.2 | 65.7 | 6.8 |
| Over \$3,000 | 157 | 1.7 | 10.8 | 7 | .4 | 57.1 | 5.3 |
| Total | 1000 | 14.0 | 14.0 | 1000 | 109.0 | 109.0 | 7.8 |

penicillin and of other recently developed remedies, combined with systematic campaigns against these diseases. If the venereal disease rate is lowered to a major extent among Negroes, this may be expected to result in a rapid increase in the net reproductive rate of the race. Since the Negroes are located economically and educationally in the groups where birth rates among whites tend to be highest, the expectation would be that Negro reproduction will take a fairly sudden surge upward.

The above discussion is of course largely hypothetical, but it is based upon the best available statistical information, and the indicated hypotheses would seem to be of such significance that an article like that of the Lees is hardly justified in ignoring these aspects of the problem.

HORNELL HART

Duke University

A REPLY TO DR. HART

To the Editor:

In his remarks Dr. Hart makes several criticisms of our handling and interpretation of the statistics on differential fertility and concludes by taking us to task for ignoring syphilis as a factor in fertility. We shall take up Dr. Hart's points one by one.

(1) Dr. Hart quotes us as saying that "The apparently lowered fertility of the Negro . . . is not real but an artifact of the measure of fertility used and the statistics from which it was computed." The omitted words constitute a most important ellipsis. The quote should have read: "The apparently lower fertility of the Negro *in this instance* is not real but an artifact of the measure of fertility used and the statistics from which it was computed." This sentence referred *only* to native white and Negro ratios for total women in the entire United States. It did not refer, as would seem from Dr. Hart's quote, to the complete series of several hundred ratios in our paper.

(2) Dr. Hart then says that we suggest "correction factors which would indicate that the standardized fertility rate for Negroes, instead of being three per cent lower than that of whites, would actually be thirty per cent higher than for the white race." Later, he adds: "The correction which the Lees propose to offset differences in infant mortality of the two races is, however, irrelevant and objectionable. From the standpoint of exploring the net reproductive rates of the two races, the number of surviving children under five years of age per thousand native white and Negro women, aged 20-49, is preferable to the number of children born per thousand women—even if the latter figure were

available." We made no correction for infant mortality. Perhaps it is worth while to quote the two paragraphs from which Dr. Hart made such an inference.

Qualifying these tables are the defects of the measure of fertility used. The ratio of children under five years old to women aged 20-49 introduces the factor of mortality, both of women and of children, the latter being the more serious. A second disturbing factor is the under-enumeration of children under five years. A third difficulty is found in the fact that only children "presumably born to the woman and living in the same household as their mothers at the time of the census" were counted in establishing the number of children per thousand women of a specific group. Thus orphans and children not living with their mothers because of divorce, desertion, or because the mother was working are not included in computing the ratios.

Taken all together these introduce considerable error into the fertility ratios. For the United States in 1940, 95 per cent of Negro live births could be expected to survive to age five. At the same time it was estimated that only 93.6 per cent of white and 84.8 per cent of non-white children under five were enumerated in the census while 97.1 per cent of white and 88.3 per cent of non-white children were living with their mothers. Taking the percentages quoted for non-whites and total whites as representative of Negroes and native whites the conclusion is reached that only 90.9 per cent of native white and 74.9 per cent of Negro children under five years old were included in these census tabulations (.936 times .971 equals .909; .848 times .883 equals .749). In Table 1 the standardized number of children under five years old per 1000 Total Women in the United States is given as 326 for native whites and 317 for Negroes. If an approximate correction be made by dividing these figures by .909 and .749 respectively, the ratios then become 359 for native whites and 423 for Negroes. The apparently lower fertility of the Negro in this instance is not real but an artifact of the measure of fertility used and the statistics from which it was computed.

Perhaps we could have made it clearer, but on rereading these two paragraphs we fail to find any reason to think that corrections were made to offset infant mortality. The factors for which we made an illustrative adjustment were for underenumeration of children under five and for children under five who were not living with their mothers at the time of the census. These have nothing to do with infant mortality and, in dealing with ratios of children under five to women of reproductive ages, are never "irrelevant and objectionable," as Dr. Hart maintains.

(3) Dr. Hart continues: "All of the conclusions which they summarize on pages 446-7 are rendered dubious by the statistical questions which the Lees themselves have raised." We believe it the duty of the researcher to point out as fully as possible within the limits of space

and knowledge the qualifications and uncertainties of the basic data and of the techniques of analysis. This we attempted to do. This does not, however, render our conclusions dubious for they were carefully and conservatively framed in the light of the limitations of the data. We only drew two conclusions: (1) "that the pattern of Negro fertility is remarkably similar to that of native whites;" and (2) "that the fertility patterns of the Negro most closely approach those of the native whites in those areas where the Negro has been permitted to share most freely in the general culture, that is, in the North and the West and in the urban South." These conclusions in no way transcend the limits of the data or the method.

(4) Dr. Hart seems to object to our reluctance to compare specific ratios of Negroes and native whites, such as the ratio for Negroes and whites who are living in housing units with rental values of \$15 to \$19 per month. As we pointed out in the case of the ratio for total women in the United States, where the ratio for Negroes was three per cent lower than for native whites, proper adjustment of the ratios would undoubtedly raise the Negro ratio above the native white ratio by a considerable amount. We also pointed out that the same rental value of home and the same number of years of school completed do not necessarily mean the same thing in the two races. Because of the many uncertainties in interracial comparisons of fertility ratios we chose not to compare specific ratios but contented ourselves with observing the patterns within each race, and noting their consistency and similarity. There is no reason why valid conclusions cannot be reached in this manner, even though there is an unfortunately large margin of error in the individual ratios. In this connection we recall our remark that "much of the difference in the accuracy of Negro and white fertility ratios for the total United States can be explained by the concentration of Negroes in the South, in rural farm areas, and in lower educational and socio-economic groups," and that "where there is a trend of decreasing fertility with increasingly favorable marks of socio-economic status, proper correction of the ratios would sharpen the differentials."

(5) We are in agreement with Dr. Hart that it is probably true that the actual reproduction rates of Negroes are usually lower than for whites of the same socio-economic level. On the basis of the ratios given in our paper this emerges as a reasonable hypothesis, but one which needs considerably more testing before it becomes necessary to explain why Negro fertility is lower than that of whites. We furthermore agree that the most comparable ratios for

the two races are those for women married once, husband present.

(6) We would like to register one disagreement with Dr. Hart's handling of his material on syphilis incidence. He presents what we consider tenuous evidence that syphilis incidence is much higher in each income class among Negroes than among whites. He thereafter states that "If (as seems plausible from the above considerations) the lower reproductive rates of Negroes as compared with whites of comparable economic and educational status is due to the higher venereal disease rate among Negroes, then a significant population forecast emerges." (Italics ours.) Our objection is to Dr. Hart's extension of data on economic status to include educational status. It is true that the two are closely related, but evidence bearing on one is not necessarily applicable to the other. In our paper, for example, the ratios for rental value of home did not form the same pattern as did those for education, especially for native whites. While there was a decrease in the fertility ratio with each increase in years of school completed in nearly every instance, the lowest fertility ratios by rental value of home were often not at the highest income levels. Instead there was some evidence of increasing fertility with increasing rental value of home at the upper levels. It is not unlikely that the incidence of syphilis according to income is quite different from the incidence of syphilis according to education.

(7) Dr. Hart concludes that "an article like that of the Lees is hardly justified in ignoring these aspects of the problem," meaning the influence of venereal diseases on fertility. The causes of differential fertility were not within the scope of our article. Had we chosen to consider the causes of differential fertility as well as presenting ratios and relationships, we would not have stopped with a monistic explanation and our paper would have exceeded the bounds of a single article.

EVERETT AND ANNE LEE
University of Pennsylvania

COMMENT ON A BOOK REVIEW

To the Editor:

In the review some months ago of my work, *The Soviet State and Its Inception*, a misconception may have arisen. This lies in the following quotation: "Since the book is based mainly on secondary sources and on the opinion of persons holding different points of view who have been to the Soviet country. . . ." There was here a serious omission, though doubtless an oversight. It was brought out in connection with the matter quoted that the work was in part the result of personal observations made

by the author in the course of a visit to the Soviet Union. This was a very important factor in the preparation of the work.

The author of this work has not sought to stress what the Soviet state has done to its credit; certainly no more than he has sought to put undue emphasis on what it has done that is not so. He has made diligent endeavor to be objective and fair all around. He feels that, apart from such considerations, America is gaining nothing, and perhaps losing a good deal, when we deny, ignore, or play down what is in the former category, particularly in the present

critical days. By a perverse fate it happens that in a brief preliminary work, *The Soviet Experiment*, published just when America was becoming an ally of Russia in the war against Nazi Germany—and when kindly feeling towards that country was abroad over much of the United States—the author was taken to task for having spoken too harshly of Russia, in his pointing out the evils and dangers of its communistic totalitarianism.

HARRY BEST

University of Kentucky

OFFICIAL REPORTS AND PROCEEDINGS



AUDITORS' REPORT For the year ended November 30, 1952

January 6, 1953

Executive Committee
The American Sociological Society
Washington Square
New York 3, N. Y.

Gentlemen:

In accordance with instructions, we have examined the financial records of The American Sociological Society for the fiscal year ended November 30, 1952. We submit herewith the following exhibits:

Statement of Cash Receipts and Disbursements for the fiscal year ended November 30, 1952.....Exhibit "A"

Inventory of Securities Examined as of November 30, 1952.....Exhibit "B"

The accounting system of the Society is limited to a cash receipts and disbursements basis, only cash journals being used to record financial transactions.

The balance of Cash in Banks as at November 30, 1952, as shown in Exhibit "A", was confirmed directly to us by the depositories. We made a physical count on January 6, 1953, of the stocks and bonds listed in Exhibit "B". Verifications in connection with other assets and any liabilities of the Society as at November 30, 1952, have been omitted. The only cash receipts confirmed by reference to outside sources were dividends on stocks and bank interest income. We made tests to ascertain that membership dues, *Review* subscriptions and sales, *Review* advertising and other types of receipts were properly entered in the cash receipts journal, and that all such receipts were properly deposited in the banks. In addition, we made an examination of the paid invoices and payroll and compared them with entries in the cash disbursements journal.

The book values shown for the securities on hand as at November 30, 1952, which were purchased subsequent to November 30, 1948, are stated at cost, whereas the values shown for securities acquired prior to that date are stated at values obtained from previous Auditors' reports; adjustments being made thereto to reflect capital changes. The market values repre-

sent the published redemption values for the bonds and the last closing Stock Exchange prices prior to December 1, 1952, for the stocks.

In our opinion, subject to the foregoing comments, the Statement of Cash Receipts and Disbursements (Exhibit "A") presents fairly the cash transactions of The American Sociological Society for the fiscal year ended November 30, 1952.

We wish to express our appreciation of the courtesies extended to us by the Executive Officer and her assistants during the course of our examination.

Respectfully submitted,
King and Company
68 William Street
New York 5, New York

FINANCIAL REPORT FROM EXECUTIVE OFFICE, January, 1953

Table 1 summarizes the expenditures for the past year, comparing them with the authorized budget for that year, and indicating the extent to which the various activities of the Society were self-supporting (through subscriptions, advertising, etc.) or were supported from dues or from the remaining \$1,000 of the Carnegie Grant. This statement adjusts the cash figures as shown by the audit in order to fit the current year more exactly. It shows a deficit of only \$137, despite the 20% increase in printing costs over the previous year.

Table 2 shows the budget which has been authorized by the Council for the fiscal year 1953. This provides for continuation of the *Review* at approximately its present size, the Employment Bulletin, and a revised Directory which will be sold to members. Because of high printing costs, however, no issues of the Bulletin are immediately contemplated. The assumption is that, despite increases in dues and subscription fees, the number of members and subscribers will remain at approximately last year's level. This budget will be reviewed by the Council in the middle of the year.

Respectfully submitted,
MATILDA WHITE RILEY
Executive Officer

AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW
THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY
EXHIBIT "A"

**STATEMENT OF CASH RECEIPTS
AND DISBURSEMENTS**

**FOR THE FISCAL YEAR ENDED
NOVEMBER 30, 1952**

| | Cash Receipts | Cash Dis- bursements | Receipts | Dis- bursements | Net |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|----------|--------------------|---------------------|
| INCOME AND EXPENSE ITEMS: | | | | | |
| Membership Dues: | | | | | |
| Active and Associate | \$ 20,890.55 | \$ 14.00 | | | |
| Joint | 74.50 | ..... |  |  |  |
| Student | 5,279.35 | ..... |  |  |  |
| Donor | 22.95 | ..... |  |  |  |
| | <hr/> \$ 26,267.35 | <hr/> \$ 14.00 | | | \$ 26,253.35 |
| American Sociological Review: | | | | | |
| Subscriptions | \$ 7,736.59 | \$ 20.25 | | | |
| Sales of back issues | 1,010.72 | 7.00 | | | |
| Advertising income | 3,954.12 | ..... |  |  |  |
| Printing and mailing costs | ..... | 21,639.75 | | | |
| Clerical salaries—Editor | ..... | 2,400.00 | | | |
| Clerical salaries—office | ..... | 2,250.00* | | | |
| Editor's expense | ..... | 544.38 | | | |
| Miscellaneous expenses | ..... | 645.00* | | | |
| | <hr/> \$ 12,701.43 | <hr/> \$ 27,506.38 | | | \$ 14,804.95 |
| Employment Bulletin: | | | | | |
| Payments for listings | \$ 184.00 | \$ 1.00 | | | |
| Clerical salaries | ..... | 400.00* | | | |
| Miscellaneous expenses | ..... | 600.00* | | | |
| | <hr/> \$ 184.00 | <hr/> \$ 1,001.00 | | | 817.00 |
| Directory: | | | | | |
| Sales | \$ 47.95 | ..... |  |  |  |
| Miscellaneous expenses | ..... | ..... |  |  |  |
| | <hr/> \$ 47.95 | <hr/> \$ | | | 47.95 |
| Index: | | | | | |
| Sales | \$ 1,243.65 | \$ | | | |
| Reprinting and mailing costs | ..... | 599.64 | | | |
| | <hr/> \$ 1,243.65 | <hr/> \$ 599.64 | | | 644.01 |
| Bulletins: | | | | | |
| Sales | \$ 120.45 | \$ | | | |
| Printing and mailing costs | ..... | 728.84 | | | |
| Clerical salaries | ..... | 50.00* | | | |
| Miscellaneous expenses | ..... | 20.00* | | | |
| | <hr/> \$ 120.45 | <hr/> \$ 798.84 | | | 678.39 |
| Committees: | | | | | |
| Executive | \$ | \$ 566.11 | | | |
| Nominating | ..... | 318.53 | | | |
| Research | ..... | 337.68 | | | |
| | <hr/> \$ | <hr/> \$ 1,222.32 | | | 1,222.32 |

* Allocated portion of office salaries and expenses paid.

OFFICIAL REPORTS AND PROCEEDINGS
THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

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EXHIBIT "A"—Continued

**STATEMENT OF CASH RECEIPTS
AND DISBURSEMENTS**

**FOR THE FISCAL YEAR ENDED
NOVEMBER 30, 1952**

| | Cash Receipts | Cash Dis- bursements | Net |
|--|---------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| | Receipts | Dis- bursements | |
| INCOME AND EXPENSE ITEMS—Continued: | | | |
| Annual Meeting: | | | |
| Program advertising income | \$ 1,052.66 | \$ 24.00 | |
| Program printing and mailing costs | ..... | 1,410.30 | |
| Book exhibit | 1,025.00 | 13.08 | |
| Reception and luncheon | 605.40 | 449.00 | |
| Meeting travel and expenses | ..... | 455.75 | |
| | <hr/> <u>\$ 2,683.06</u> | <hr/> <u>\$ 2,352.13</u> | <hr/> <u>\$ 330.93</u> |
| Office: | | | |
| Executive Officer's salary—part-time | \$ | \$ 3,000.00 | |
| Clerical salaries | ..... | 4,333.05 | |
| Rent | ..... | 300.00 | |
| Printing and mailing expenses—membership notices, files, etc. | 49.35 | 1,587.53 | |
| Expenses reimbursed by others | 2,687.86 | 2,687.86 | |
| Purchase of office fixtures | ..... | 80.34 | |
| Office maintenance expenses | 9.10 | 407.60 | |
| | <hr/> <u>\$ 2,746.31</u> | <hr/> <u>\$ 12,396.38</u> | <hr/> <u>\$ 9,650.07</u> |
| Miscellaneous: | | | |
| Dividend income | \$ 329.26 | \$ | |
| Audit fee | ..... | 200.00 | |
| Dues to other Societies—ISA and ACLS | ..... | 200.00 | |
| Bank charges | ..... | 77.42 | |
| Insurance bond | ..... | 125.00 | |
| Miscellaneous | 4.48 | ..... |  |
| | <hr/> <u>\$ 333.74</u> | <hr/> <u>\$ 602.42</u> | <hr/> <u>268.68</u> |
| OTHER ITEMS: | | | |
| Subscriptions to other journals for members | \$ 3,541.10 | \$ 3,477.85 | |
| Robert MacIver Award Fund | 1,476.94 | ..... |  |
| Sale of Stock Right | .87 | ..... |  |
| | <hr/> <u>\$ 5,018.91</u> | <hr/> <u>\$ 3,477.85</u> | <hr/> <u>1,541.06</u> |
| TOTAL CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS for the fiscal year ended November 30, 1952 | | | |
| | \$ 51,346.85 | \$ 49,970.96 | \$ 1,375.89 |
| CASH IN BANKS: | | | |
| Balance—November 30, 1951 | \$ 10,609.65 | | |
| Add—Deposit in transit | 266.07 | | |
| | <hr/> <u>\$ 10,875.72</u> | | |
| Less: Outstanding checks | 1,625.45 | | |
| | <hr/> <u>\$ 9,250.27</u> | | |

AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW
THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY
EXHIBIT "A"—Continued

**STATEMENT OF CASH RECEIPTS
AND DISBURSEMENTS**

**FOR THE FISCAL YEAR ENDED
NOVEMBER 30, 1952**

| | Cash Receipts | Cash Dis- bursements | Net | Dis- bursements |
|--|---------------------|-------------------------|-----|--------------------|
| CASH IN BANKS—Continued: | | | | |
| Less: Income taxes withheld | \$ 268.95 | | | |
| Balance per books—November 30, 1951 | | \$ 8,981.32 | | \$ 8,981.32 |
| Balance—November 30, 1952 | \$11,245.73 | | | |
| Add deposits in transit | ..... |  |  |  |
| | <u>\$11,245.73</u> | | | |
| Less: Outstanding checks | 538.52 | | | |
| | <u>538.52</u> | | | |
| | <u>\$10,707.21</u> | | | |
| Less: Income taxes withheld | 350.00 | | | |
| | <u>350.00</u> | | | |
| Balance per Books—November 30, 1952 | | \$ 10,357.21 | | \$ 10,357.21 |
| | <u>\$ 60,328.17</u> | <u>\$ 60,328.17</u> | | |

THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

EXHIBIT "B"

INVENTORY OF SECURITIES EXAMINED

AS OF NOVEMBER 30, 1952

| Description | Type | Year Acquired | Face amount or number of shares | Book Value | Market Value |
|--|-------------------------|---------------|---------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| BONDS: | | | | | |
| United States Savings | Series F due 6-1-57 | 1945 | \$2,000.00 | \$1,480.00 | \$ 1,696.00 |
| United States Savings | Series F due 8-1-62 | 1950 | 8,000.00 | 5,920.00 | 5,992.00 |
| STOCKS: | | | | | |
| American Telephone and Telegraph Company | Capital | 1932 | 3 | 296.00 | 480.75 |
| Chesapeake and Ohio Railway Company | Common | 1945 | 10 | 526.58 | 376.25 |
| Consolidated Natural Gas Company of Delaware | Capital | 1943 | 1 | ..... | 57.62 |
| Standard Oil Company of New Jersey | Capital | 1940 | 24* | 533.56 | 1,818.00 |
| Union Pacific Railroad Company | Common | 1945-48 | 20 | 1,313.75 | 2,330.00 |
| United States Steel Corporation | 7% Cumulative Preferred | 1938-39 | 5 | 532.41 | 711.25 |
| | | | | <u>\$10,602.30</u> | <u>\$13,461.87</u> |

* 24 shares par value \$15 received in February 1952 in exchange for 12 shares par value \$25.

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TABLE 1. FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR THE FISCAL YEAR 1952

| EXPENDITURES | Budget Total | Total Actual | INCOME ALLOCATIONS: | | |
|---|--------------|--------------|---------------------|---------|--------------------------------|
| | | | Dues | Grant | All other (subscr., ads, etc.) |
| I. PUBLICATIONS | | | | | |
| Review | \$27,345 | \$27,479 | \$14,937 | | \$12,542 |
| Emp. Bulletin | 1,000 | 1,000 | 817 | | 183 |
| Directory | | | (+48) | | 48 |
| Bulletin | 744 | 748 | 628 | | 120 |
| Index to Review | 600 | 600 | (+644) | | 1,244 |
| TOTAL | \$29,689 | \$29,827 | \$15,690 | | \$14,137 |
| II. ANNUAL MEETING | 2,550 | 1,866 | (+328) | | 2,194 |
| III. OFFICE (excl. amt. included under I) | 10,500 | 10,540 | 9,540 | \$1,000 | |
| IV. COMMITTEES | 1,725 | 1,289 | 1,289 | | |
| V. MISCELLANEOUS | 586 | 533 | 199 | | 334 |
| TOTAL | \$45,050 | \$44,055 | \$26,390 | \$1,000 | \$16,665 |
| TOTAL INCOME | \$43,001 | \$43,918 | \$26,253 | \$1,000 | \$16,665 |
| NET | \$(-2,049) | \$(-137) | \$(-137) | | |

TABLE 2. BUDGET FOR THE FISCAL YEAR 1953
(Estimated November 1952)

| EXPENDITURES | Budget as Authorized | Details of Publication Budget | INCOME ALLOCATIONS: | | |
|---|----------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------|-------|--------------------------------|
| | | | Dues | Grant | All other (subscr., ads, etc.) |
| I. PUBLICATIONS | | | | | |
| Review | | \$28,585 | \$15,274 | | \$13,311 |
| Emp. Bulletin | | 1,000 | 830 | | 170 |
| Directory | | 4,625 | 1,625 | | 3,000 |
| Index | | 72 | (+28) | | 100 |
| TOTAL | \$34,282 | | \$17,701 | | \$16,581 |
| II. ANNUAL MEETING | 2,300 | | 300 | | 2,000 |
| III. OFFICE (excl. amt. included under I) | 11,072 | | 11,072 | | |
| IV. COMMITTEES | 1,600 | | 1,600 | | |
| V. MISCELLANEOUS | 601 | | 271 | | 330 |
| TOTAL | \$49,855 | | \$30,944 | | \$18,911 |
| TOTAL INCOME | \$49,871 | | \$30,960 | | \$18,911 |
| NET | \$ 24 | | \$ 24 | | |

NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS



Amerika-Institut der Universität München.

Professor William C. Lehmann, of Syracuse University, sent to Munich, Germany by the Cultural Affairs Division of the Department of State last spring as guest lecturer at the American Institute, has been asked by the University of Munich to take over the temporary directorship of this American Studies center pending the appointment and installation of a Professor of Amerikakunde who is to be permanent director of the Institute.

Any American sociologist who might have a set or considerable portions of the back files of the *American Journal of Sociology* or the former *Proceedings*, or other valuable materials, books, research reports, microfilms, etc. to contribute to the building up of the Institute's American studies library, is asked to notify Professor Lehmann, Amerika-Institut, University of Munich, Munich, Germany.

The Japan Sociological Society held its twenty-fifth annual meeting at the University of Tokyo and at the Tokyo University of Education, October 25-26, 1952. The meeting was attended by over 500 people, of whom 274 were regular members of the Society. The membership is the largest in the history of the Society, and shows the rapidity with which sociology has been gaining in public interest in postwar Japan. The newly elected president of the Society is Professor Ekai Hayashi.

Central University of Venezuela, Caracas, Venezuela, announces the opening of a new Department of Sociology and Cultural Anthropology in the Division of Economics Sciences. The department will offer a major in the fields of sociology and cultural anthropology, consisting of 72 semester hours over a four-year period within the department and 48 in other departments and divisions of the University. The four-year course of study will lead to the *Licenciatura* and the five-year course of study to the *Doctorado*.

To augment the local staff, Thomas L. Norris and Norman W. Painter have recently arrived from Michigan State College. George W. Hill, formerly of the University of Wisconsin, will act as head of the department while continuing his functions as advisor to the government on social and population problems.

The department offers research opportunities for both the staff and students. Two research projects are being initiated immediately, one in juvenile delinquency and the other in the social dynamics of group housing. Both projects will be conducted in selected areas of the capital city, Caracas.

The address is: Departamento de Sociología y Antropología, Cultural Facultad de Ciencias Económicas y Sociales, Ciudad Universitaria, Residencia No. 1, Caracas, Venezuela, S. A.

American Society of Group Psychotherapy and Psychodrama will hold its annual meetings in Los Angeles, May 4 and 5, 1953. The program for the meetings was published in February. For further information write to the secretary-treasurer, Dr. Edgar F. Borgatta, Laboratory of Social Relations, Harvard University.

Eastern Sociological Society. The 1953 annual meeting of the Society was held on March 28 and 29 at Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

The Gerontological Society. The 1953 meeting of the Society will be held at the Mark Hopkins Hotel, San Francisco, August 25-27. Information about this meeting can be obtained from Harold E. Jones, Department of Psychology, University of California, Berkeley (Chairman, Local Arrangements Committee) or from Dr. Nathan W. Shock, Section on Gerontology, Baltimore City Hospitals, Baltimore, Maryland (Secretary of the Society).

Sociological Abstracts. A new, cooperative, non-profit quarterly specializing in abstracting sociological and sociologically oriented periodicals. Volume 1, No. 1, November 1952, contains 52 abstracts from five fully and two partially covered periodicals. New periodicals of domestic and foreign origin will be added to issue No. 2, available in February 1953.

Copies may be obtained from The Editor, 218 East 12th Street, New York 3, New York. Enclose fifty cents in coins or stamps for each issue.

Antioch College. Alvin W. Gouldner, formerly of the University of Buffalo, has been appointed Associate Professor of Sociology. Everett K. Wilson was awarded a Ford Foundation Fellowship and is on leave during the present academic year investigating methods of teaching research and problem-solving skills to undergraduates.

Columbia University. Robert M. MacIver, Lieber Professor Emeritus of Political Philosophy and Sociology, is serving as Director of the American Academic Freedom Project.

Robert S. Lynd, Giddings Professor of Sociology, on sabbatical leave during the winter session, is preparing a manuscript on the sociological analysis of power.

Robert K. Merton has been appointed Executive Officer of the Department of Sociology, succeeding Paul F. Lazarsfeld, who is now directing the University's preparation of training materials for the project in Advanced Education in Social Research.

Kingsley Davis, Professor of Sociology, on leave during the winter session, has recently returned from an extensive field trip in Africa, under the sponsorship of the Carnegie Corporation.

Edmund deS. Brunner, Professor of Education on the Schiff Foundation, is serving as Associate Director and as Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Columbia University Bureau of Applied Social Research.

Theodore Abel, Associate Professor of Sociology, has accepted an appointment as Professor of Sociology and Chairman of the Department of Sociology, Hunter College.

William J. Goode, for the past two years Research Associate of the University Seminar on the Professions in Modern Society, has been appointed Associate Professor of Sociology. He will be in charge of the sociology staff in the School of General Studies. Merton and Goode are preparing a Casebook on the Professions, under a grant from the Russell Sage Foundation.

C. Wright Mills, Associate Professor of Sociology in Columbia College, is on leave of absence during the current academic year. He has accepted a visiting appointment at Brandeis University during the spring semester.

Charles Y. Glock has been appointed Director of the Bureau of Applied Social Research. Professors Brunner, Davis, Lazarsfeld and Merton continue as Associate Directors of the Bureau.

Bernard Barber, formerly of Smith College, has been appointed Assistant Professor of Sociology in Barnard College. He was recently appointed a member of the Committee on the Humanistic Aspects of Science of the American Council of Learned Societies.

Conrad Arensberg, formerly of the Barnard Department of Sociology, has been appointed Associate Professor of Anthropology in Columbia University.

Gladys Meyer, Assistant Professor of Sociology in Barnard College, is a member of the Planning Committee for the Eastern College Conference for Functional Education to be held at Vassar in March 1953.

William Kornhauser, who studied at the University of Chicago, has been appointed Instructor of Sociology in the School of General Studies.

Harold F. Kaufman, on leave from Mississippi State College, is serving as Visiting Lecturer during the current academic year. He is directing the research seminars of the Department concerned with the preparation of Master's essays.

Herbert Marcuse, on leave from the Office of Intelligence Research, Department of State, and a Senior Fellow of the Russian Institute of Columbia University, is serving as a Visiting Lecturer during the current academic year.

University of Illinois. The principal additions to the Department this year are in anthropology. Julian Steward, formerly of Columbia University, is Research Professor of Anthropology in the Graduate College and Professor of Anthropology in the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences. Ben Zimmerman and Fredrich Lehman have been appointed Research Associates in Anthropology in residence and Elena Padilla has been appointed Research Associate, but is carrying on her work for Professor Steward in London. Oscar Lewis has been granted a two-year leave to work for the Ford

Foundation. His address is Hotel Ambassador, New Delhi, India. Eric Wolf, now in Mexico, will join the department in January after which as Visiting Assistant Professor he will offer Professor Lewis's courses. As Assistants in Sociology, Robert Corley and Hyman Frankel were reappointed after a year's absence, and Lewis Davies, Lyman Hurd, and Bernard Thorsch were new appointees. Arnold Sio, who was an Assistant in Sociology last year, has gone to Colgate University where he is serving as Assistant Professor.

Several changes in rank were made this year. J. C. McGregor became Professor of Anthropology, Robert Dubin became Professor of Sociology, Conway Esselstyn became Assistant Professor of Sociology.

David Lindstrom, Professor of Rural Sociology, has been granted a leave of absence for three years beginning January 1953. He will serve during that time as Professor of Sociology in the Christian University of Japan.

During August, September, and October, Associate Professor Joseph Bachelder was on leave of absence to serve as director of a private polling organization which reported to the Republican National Committee.

Kent State University. Paul Oren, Assistant Professor of Sociology, is spending this academic year on leave as a post-doctoral Fulbright research fellow at the University of Paris. He is making a study of an aspect of the socialization of the child in French society.

Oscar Ritchie, Assistant Professor, is on leave of absence for the academic year, 1952-53, for study and research at New York University.

Graduate assistants in the department for this year are Everett Crawford, a graduate of Ohio Wesleyan, and Bernard Wrenn, who did his undergraduate work at West Virginia Institute of Technology. Ambrose DeFlumere, graduate assistant in the department from 1950 to 1952, has accepted a position with Cottey College in Nevada, Missouri.

George Masterton, Lecturer in Social Psychology at the University of Nottingham, England, is visiting Assistant Professor in the department for the academic year, 1952-53.

University of Michigan. For the sixth consecutive year the Survey Research Center of the University will hold its Annual Summer Institute in Survey Research Techniques.

This special program is designed to illustrate the theory and application of survey research to such fields as business and human relations, education, psychology and sociology, public affairs, public health, economics, statistics, and so forth. Again this year a special workshop will be offered in the practical application of survey research methods to these individual fields. The dates for this session are June 22 to July 17 and July 20 to August 14.

Michigan State College. Through the Social Research Service and the Area Research Center the Department of Sociology and Anthropology has available several research assistantships and several teaching assistantships for the academic year 1953-54. These carry a stipend of 1200 to 1400 dollars

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in addition to tuition fees for graduate students who qualify as candidates for the Ph.D. degree. Applications should be sent to Head, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, preferably before March 1, 1953.

Raymond Scheele returned to the campus in September after a leave of absence of one year. He spent the year in Latin America working under the auspices of the Michigan State College Area Research Center in cooperation with the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences at Turrialba, Costa Rica. In November Dr. Scheele left for Brazil to make a study for the Area Research Center under contract with the U.S. State Department. Thomas Blair, a graduate assistant in the department, is assisting Dr. Scheele with the project. It is expected that the field work in Brazil can be completed in about six months.

John Useem and his wife, Ruth Useem, are spending this year in India where they are making a study for the Hazen Foundation under contract with the Area Research Center. The purpose of the study is to evaluate the effect of education in colleges and universities of the United States and Europe on natives of India who have attended these colleges. The Useems will return in September.

Olen E. Leonard is spending the academic year 1952-53 at the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences in Costa Rica. Dr. Leonard will continue the work in Rural Sociology and Anthropology for the Michigan State College Area Research Center which was begun by Dr. Loomis in 1950-51, and carried on by Dr. Scheele in 1951-52. Dr. Leonard is being assisted in Costa Rica by Charles Proctor, Frank Nall and Manuel Alers-Montalvo, who are graduate assistants in the department.

Roy Clifford, formerly Assistant Professor at Vanderbilt University and Associate Sociologist at the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences, has been appointed assistant professor for the academic year 1952-53 on a part-time basis. Harry K. Dansereau who is completing work for the Ph.D. degree was appointed instructor on a part-time basis for the same period.

The Social Research Service in the Department received in September 1952 a grant of 10,400 dollars from the cities of Lansing and East Lansing to conduct studies in urban integration. An additional purpose of the survey is to collect data which will be useful in developing a census tract plan for the city. The following staff members constitute the committee in charge of this project: J. A. Beegle, C. P. Loomis, Joel Smith, David Steinicke, Gregory Stone, John F. Thaden and William H. Form (chairman). The committee also includes Jack DeLora and James Cowhig who are graduate assistants in the department.

For the continuation of the project dealing with the study of social processes in a community self-survey, the Social Research Service has received a grant of 12,000 dollars from the Health Information Foundation, New York. During the current year an inventory of health action will be made in Lenawee County where the survey was done. One purpose of the continuation study is to determine the extent to which health action might be related

to the self-survey. Staff members in charge of the project are J. A. Beegle, Walter Freeman, C. R. Hoffer, C. P. Loomis, Paul Miller, David Steinicke, John F. Thaden, John Holland (co-chairman), and Christopher Sower (chairman).

During the current academic year D. L. Gibson is serving as chairman of the project, Social Strengths in Mental Health, which is financed by the National Mental Health Institute. The committee responsible for this project is John Useem (on leave), C. P. Loomis, D. L. Gibson, Gregory Stone, Joe Mills, and William Thomas (clinical psychologist). Chandler Washburne was appointed research assistant and Robert H. Hicks, graduate research assistant on the project September 1, 1952.

On January 1, 1953, Charles Westie who is completing work for the Ph.D. degree at Ohio State University joined the staff of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology as assistant professor to carry on extension work in industrial relations. He is technically responsible to the department but will work in the Continuing Education Service, to which he will be administratively responsible.

University of Nebraska. Paul Meadows was Visiting Professor of Sociology at the University of Missouri during the summer session.

Alan P. Bates, assistant professor, has been granted funds by the University Research Council for the carrying out of an experimental study of the effects on the structure of small groups of differing degrees of environmental severity.

Reginald Robson, who recently completed his graduate work at the University of Minnesota, has joined the staff of the School of Law. As a sociologist, he will do teaching and research in an area which can be designated as "the sociology of legislative policy making."

Paul Meadows, Editor of *The Midwest Sociologist*, official publication of the Midwest Sociological Society, has announced a change in policy for this journal. There are now to be two issues a year, in printed format containing full-length articles. Persons not members of the Midwest Sociological Society can subscribe for one dollar. Subscriptions may be sent either to Dr. Meadows or to Herbert Lionberger, Secretary-Treasurer, Midwest Sociological Society, Mumford Hall, University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri.

Northwestern University. The Chairman, Kimball Young, has returned to the department after his leave of absence on a Guggenheim Fellowship. He spent the winter and spring at the Huntington Library, San Marino, California, completing a manuscript dealing with Mormon polygamy. During the summer he taught at the University of Hawaii.

Two years ago the department of sociology established its Laboratory for Social Research. The Laboratory has been very active during the past year. At present it is undertaking a series of Q-methodology studies. The Laboratory has also undertaken a two-year study of social stratification in Puerto Rico. Paul K. Hatt is director of this project and Arnold S. Feldman is assistant director. The work this year will consist of the pilot phases of the study and the actual project itself will go into the field about July 1, 1953.

Richard T. Morris has joined the staff of the department for the present year. He is assigned half-time teaching and half-time research with the Laboratory for Social Research. Dr. Morris came from the University of Wisconsin where he has been for the past two years. He took his Ph.D. at Ohio State University. Dr. Morris is developing a program of research to continue his concern with problems of occupation and manpower, and continues to serve as consultant on a research project at the University of Wisconsin which deals with cross cultural education.

Robert F. Winch is engaged in an extensive research project, "A Study of the Theory of Complementary Needs in Mate Selection." This project is supported by the National Institute of Mental Health. Douglas More has joined the staff for the present year and is giving part time to teaching and part time as research associate on the Winch project in the Laboratory of Social Psychology.

The U. S. Public Health has renewed the fellowship of Thomas Ktsanes. He is continuing his research on some aspects of mate selection. He will also teach one course in social psychology.

Ernest R. Mowrer is engaged in extended research on personality likenesses and differences of twins.

Through a grant from the Carnegie Corporation to the Northwestern University Committee on African studies, Leo Silberman was added to the staff for the fall quarter with the rank of assistant professor. Dr. Silberman is Lecturer and Beit Fellow, Balliol College, Oxford University. Funds have been provided by the Dean of the College of Liberal Arts to keep Dr. Silberman on the staff for the winter quarter.

Thomas D. Eliot has been granted a two-year leave of absence to enable him to complete his manuscript on social control as well as his analysis of data obtained while on a Fulbright to Norway.

University of Omaha. Max Burchard has been appointed instructor in sociology in charge of pre-professional and undergraduate social work training.

T. Earl Sullenger was reelected National President of the United Chapters of Alpha Kappa Delta.

University of Pennsylvania. James H. S. Bossard has been appointed Professor of Sociology in Psychiatry in the School of Medicine at the University of Pennsylvania. The appointment is

made in connection with the newly formed Division of Family Life Study, established under a grant from the Grant Foundation, and is in addition to Dr. Bossard's other positions in the department of sociology and the William T. Carter Foundation.

San Francisco State College. Mrs. Bernice Madison, recently from the faculty at the University of Oregon, has completed her doctorate in Social Service Administration at the University of Chicago, and has been appointed as associate professor in charge of the undergraduate social work program at San Francisco State College.

F. D. Freeman is now serving his second year as an assistant professor of sociology at the College, having come here from the University of Tulsa.

George Outland, Professor of Sociology, has returned to the College after a year's leave of absence on a Ford Foundation Fellowship, in which he was engaged in studying programs of social science and general education in the various institutions throughout the country.

Vanderbilt University. Albert J. Reiss, Jr., formerly of the University of Chicago, has taken up the duties of the chairman of the department of sociology and anthropology.

Emilio Willems is Visiting Professor of Anthropology at the University of Michigan during the current academic year.

William Stein has been appointed instructor in anthropology for the year 1952-53. He has just returned from a year's field trip in Peru under a pre-doctoral fellowship from the Social Science Research Council and the Wenner-Gren Foundation. In Peru, Stein was engaged in research on cultural stability and change in Hualcan, an Indian village in the Department of Ancash.

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The *Review* regrets to inform its readers of the death in December, 1952, of Gladys Eugenia Bryson, member of the Society and professor and head of the division of social sciences at Smith College, and former president of the Eastern Sociological Society.

Belated news has reached the Editorial Office, informing of the death in May, 1951, of Rabbi Solomon Landman, of Kew Gardens, New York. Rabbi Landman had been a member of the Society since 1926.

BOOK REVIEWS



The Structure of Society. By MARION J. LEVY, Jr. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952. xvii, 584 pp. \$5.00.

The Structure of Society joins such volumes as Williams' *American Society* and Barber's *Science and the Social Order* as evidence of the growing influence of the teaching and writings of Talcott Parsons. Unlike these authors, however, who make *some* use of Parsons' conceptual theory in relatively restricted areas, Professor Levy has striven to clarify, expand, generalize and systematize structural-functional theory so as to enable cumulatively significant comparative analysis of societal structures. Plans are already underway to test empirically this theoretical system in studies of disparate societies. Parsons himself has contributed recently to a joint work on a *general theory of social action* and has published a volume on *the social system*. Levy, in what he views as a less formidable undertaking, presents a tentative (accented by photo-offset format) "system for the analysis of any society and a method of procedure whereby segments of such a unit may be analyzed and related to the whole."

The initial four chapters are ground-clearing. In the first, the action frame of reference is espoused, though social action itself is defined residually, and the task of codifying a general theory of society is outlined. Chapter II is the most extensive and painstaking discussion to date of functional-structural concepts. "Functions refer to what is done, and structure refers to how what is done is done" sums up the interdependence of the key terms. With leads from Parsons and Merton, sub-concepts are elaborated: eufunction and estructure, dysfunction and dystructure, manifest and latent functions and structures, I U R (intended but unrecognized) functions and structures, U I R in both cases, concrete structures (theoretically capable of physical separation) and analytical structures (patterned aspects of actions). Here too is explanation of functional and structural requisites, conditions and patterns necessary for stability, and of prerequisites, of central concern in the study of change but not in the study of structure *per se*—a debatable point, as current discussions show. Levy, however, warns against the traps of functional teleology and implicit conservatism, and notes the limitations as well as the advantages of structural-functional analy-

sis, which he nevertheless believes represents today "the main line of development in social science." The meaning of *society* is developed in the third chapter—a concrete action system of individuals primarily oriented to the system, sexually recruited, theoretically self-sufficient, relatively durable. Society in this sense is impossible in the face of biological extinction (to be sure!) or dispersion, apathy, extreme instrumentalism ("the war of all against all": Hobbes-Parsons), or absorption—matters of significance in social change, as Levy explains. If these terminating conditions are to be avoided, he tells us at length in Chapter IV, the functional requisites of any society must be met: provisions to meet biological needs, role differentiation and assignment (see Levy's pointed critique of the Linton-Parsons-Davis use of "status"), communication, shared knowledge (you may prefer "cognitive orientations"), shared goals, prescription of means, regulation of expressed feeling (affect, if you like), socialization, control of deviant behavior, and, essential all along, adequate institutionalization.

The main burden of the volume is the specification of the *analytical structural* requisites of any society. In Chapter V, Levy stresses that structural variation is so great that the attempt to spell out *concrete* requisites is premature (even the universality of the family *may* reflect "a lack of social invention"). Squarely facing complex methodological problems, he shows that analytical structures themselves must be viewed, at whatever level of analysis, in terms of their combinations with concrete structures. Both the potentialities and difficulties of this mode of investigation, especially when carried into comparative studies, are explored—with caution against over-optimism—and the relationships between concepts and theory are examined. The inclusiveness of Levy's approach—and of the "school" that it represents—is illustrated by Chapter VI, in which *social relationships* ("relationship structures"), long considered by some of us to be the heart of the matter, are recognized as ubiquitous and therefore of significance in structural analysis. Six *aspects* of relationships are unfolded: cognitive—here Pareto is utilized and expanded; membership basis—universalistic or particularistic; substantive—functionally specific or diffuse; affective—avoidance or intimacy; "motivational"—individualistic or

responsible; stratification—hierarchical or egalitarian. Drawing from Parsons and his own researches, Levy suggests the utility of these distinctions in comparative study.

The last five chapters, devoted to a "minimal" consideration of analytical structures, read like the reverse peeling of the onion. First delineated is the structure of *role differentiation*, based on age, generation, sex, economic production and consumption, political power and responsibility, religion, knowledge, physical environment, solidarity; and stratification is dealt with briefly. The structure of *solidarity*, involving allocation of relationships according to their content, strength and intensity, is next accounted for, and the various types of role differentiation are related to parallel "concrete units" (for those interested in *groups* this eighth chapter will seem one of the weakest). Chapters IX and X, on the structures of *economic* and *political allocation*, are largely restatements, conceptually disciplined for the present context, of territory familiar to readers of Parsons (and Weber and Durkheim), though the systematic treatment of economic allocation is particularly well developed. Not so with the final chapter: here are brought together unfinished and disconnected considerations, as Levy himself views them, of education, motivation, religion, faddism and recreation under the heading of "the structure of integration and expression."

This volume, described all too briefly, is a bold and impressive intellectual performance, highlighted especially by the author's logical skill, meticulous exegesis, familiarity with the natural sciences, conspicuous effort to match the latter's theoretical sophistication, and wise insistence on the noncausal nature of his formulations. But the performance is dimmed, I believe, by definitional preoccupation beyond the demands of conceptual precision and explicitness; by monotony of exposition reminiscent of F. S. C. Northrop (of all people), defended as essential in a *general* study, though occasionally relieved by flights of bright wit; by reliance on Parsons for even many of the detailed illustrations, painfully mindful of students who play back teacher's examples on examinations. It may also be noted that some sociological truisms (e.g. the interdependence of heredity and environment; the fallacy of monistic determinism) are unduly complicated in Levy's treatment; and that he seems unaware of the close similarity between earlier well-known contributions and certain of his own formulations (e.g. the definition of "society" in Chapter II parallels in large measure MacIver's conception of "community" set down decades ago; the concepts "individualistic" and "responsible" relationships developed on pp. 272 ff. are not only close to

MacIver's "like" and "common" but are presented for similar theoretical reasons). Comments of this order pertain to the *manner* with which Levy has carried out his task. Critical evaluation of the task itself and of the extent to which it has been accomplished is not only beyond this reviewer's competence, but, as in the case of Parsons' own recent publications, must await the promised test of empirical investigation.

CHARLES H. PAGE

City College, New York

The Mormon Village: A Pattern and Technique of Land Settlement. By LOWRY NELSON. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1952. xvii, 296 pp. Also Appendix of maps and pictures. \$5.00.

It is nearly three decades since Lowry Nelson began his important research bearing on the Mormon village. His publications on this topic have constituted a real contribution, not only to rural sociology and public policy, but to history and to systematic sociology alike. The present volume brings together the important papers and monographs published earlier, many long out of print. In addition, the author has included certain materials not previously published.

The volume opens with a brief statement of the basic patterns of land settlement in the western world, with particular reference to this country. As the author says, there are "three major patterns of land settlement: (1) the isolated farmstead, (2) the farm village, and (3) the line village" (p. 4).

While the isolated farmstead appeared in colonial times, it became common after our public lands began to be subdivided into townships, sections, and quarter sections, and especially after the passage of the Homestead Act. This law as well as earlier enactments required that the individual, in order to obtain title, must actually reside, for certain periods, upon the land which he desired to pre-empt.

The Mormon village, however, did not originate from either economic incentives or legal requirements, but rather from religious motives. The Mormons believed that they were living in the last days of the world. They envisaged, through their prophet, Joseph Smith, the establishment here of the City of Zion which in time would be taken into heaven and become the basic pattern of urban life in the hereafter. The City of Zion was laid out on the grid pattern with the streets at right angles. The village, in turn, followed essentially the same design. "The thesis of the author is that the Mormon village was a social invention . . .

motivated by a sense of urgent need to prepare a dwelling place for the Savior and his second coming" (p. 28).

As a background to understanding the place of the village in the Mormon movement, the author deals briefly with the nature of the Mormon ecclesiastical system and with the important function of leadership therein. With regard to the latter, he points out that most Mormon towns and villages were founded by deliberate planning and direction. From the earliest days in Utah, Brigham Young or his lieutenants periodically "called" people to establish new communities. Those selected were not all farmers but consisted of a quota of farmers, blacksmiths, carpenters, and other individuals who would be able to build up an economically self-sufficient community. Moreover, each town or village was a miniature theocracy like the larger one of the Latter Day Saints Church itself.

There is one exception in this matter of the formal establishment of the communities by direction of the leading authorities. The Mormon towns or villages in Alberta, Canada were founded by Mormons who had taken plural wives and who under the heavy prosecution by the federal government escaped from the United States to settle in these remote communities over the northern border. However, the Church sanctioned the formation of these communities and the general pattern of their organization was the same as elsewhere.

The largest part of Nelson's book deals with the studies in three communities in Utah and three in Canada. The former are Escalante, Ephraim, and American Fork. The first was studied in 1923 and then again in 1950. The second was surveyed first in 1925 and again in 1950. The third was studied in 1927 and only a cursory re-examination made in 1950. The studies of the Canadian communities were undertaken during the summer of 1930. None of them was resurveyed later.

All of these communities were located in areas where the potential resource base was of rather low order. For instance, Escalante lies practically in a desert region on the rim of the Colorado River basin. Ephraim lies in a small valley between two mountain ranges and the amount of available good land there was distinctly limited as was the water supply. While not quite so true there are many features of the American Fork location similar to those of Ephraim. In the Canadian sector, the country though suitable to wheat raising suffered from periodic droughts, frequent and unpredictable storms, and other natural phenomena which were distinctly a hazard to the settlers.

There are five basic findings in this study.

First there is evidence of a considerable waste of resources in one way or another. This arose not only from frequent poor use of the land but more particularly from the population pressure upon the local resources. Second, in many Utah communities, typified by Escalante and Ephraim, the population rose to a peak in about fifty years and then declined because of out-migration. Such growth and subsequent emigration, of course, is common enough in rural areas everywhere. The third factor is the effect of federal action. Particularly in Escalante and Ephraim the government conservation programs lead to regulations regarding the amount of livestock which would be permitted on the various forest preserves. The fourth factor is the later stabilization where some balance was struck between population and available resources. In the case of Escalante the reductions of the range and other conservation efforts have already begun to pay dividends and the community appears to be reaching a position of relative equilibrium vis-a-vis its resources. This is partly true of Ephraim also. In contrast American Fork has become an economic adjunct to the Salt Lake city market. Moreover, the Geneva Steel Plant was located only a few miles from this community and it is providing part of the labor force for this industry. The situation in Canada is not unlike the others. Efforts have been made to succeed by dry wheat farming but the climatic fluctuations have made living there extremely difficult.

Finally throughout the whole history of those communities the religious influence has remained very strong in keeping people on the land. As the author says, "It is clear that the Church, functioning as a mechanism for social contact and through its various religious formulas—such as prayer, ceremony, and ritual—providing a sense of security for the individual, is the most influential stabilizing factor in the Mormon settlement" (p. 271).

In his concluding chapter, "Looking to the Future," Nelson indicates two important factors which he thinks will play a part. Mormon culture he calls *agrarianism* or "the assignment of superior values to the agricultural way of life" (p. 277).

The second basic idea behind Mormon culture is that of *theocracy*. Not only is this found in the organization of the Church as a religious institution, but in the whole history of the Church, until recently, the theocratic pattern has been in operation in the social control of the community. As a matter of actual fact, even in the face of considerable secularization, wherever the Mormons have settled we find a dual form of government, one that of the civil order, the other that of the Mormon Church itself.

Nelson goes on to show that the "institutional demands on the Mormon villager, including those of the Church and those of the state, are heavy indeed" (p. 284). By means of a most elaborate "mechanism for socialization" the Church provides for almost every aspect of a member's life outside of the purely economic and political activities. In fact, Nelson raises the question as to whether these communities do not have "too much organization" in the sense of education, recreation, and participation in Church functions.

Of probable changes ahead, the author writes: "It is safe to predict that they will mean the further advance of village life in the direction of greater complexity, more impersonality, greater dependence upon and interest in the national and world communities, greater sophistication, further loss of its agrarian character, both occupational and ideological, and perhaps further decline in the position of the family. Church and civil organization will in time redefine their social roles and simplify the organization load" (pp. 284-285).

While the present reviewer is in general agreement with Nelson's analysis of these interesting data and while he, like Nelson, was brought up under this culture, he must enter a slight demur regarding the prospect ahead. It is his opinion that both from the civic and the ecclesiastical standpoint Mormon village life as well as Mormon urban life, like much of that outside, will likely find itself burdened with more rather than less organization and more demands in the way of formal as well as informal and centralized controls. This seems to be our larger cultural drift unless there is a sharp reversal of the whole trend in present-day America.

KIMBALL YOUNG

Northwestern University

The Salvage: Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement. By DOROTHY SWAINE THOMAS. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1952. xii, 637 pp. \$7.50.

Following by six years the publication of *The Spoilage*, *The Salvage* completes the plan for a two-volume report on the Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement Study. By "spoilage" was meant the 18,000 (one-sixth of all evacuees) sent to the Tule Lake [segregation] Center because they were "disloyal" on the basis of responses to the loyalty questionnaire. By "salvage" the author refers to the 36,000 (one-third of all evacuees) classified as "loyal" and who left the camps before revision of the exclusion orders in December, 1944 to participate directly in the war effort or to become

settlers in the East and Middle West. The "loyal" evacuees who did not migrate from the camps before this date were classified as "the residue." Thus the categories were established on the basis of what happened before the closing of the camps and the terms "spoilage" and "salvage" are used in the "short-run" rather than the "long-run" context.

The first part of *The Salvage*, comprising slightly over one-fifth of the book, is entitled "Patterns of Social and Demographic Change." It affords a statistical treatment of Japanese immigration since 1880 and deals with other mass phenomena such as changing age-sex distributions, agricultural adjustments, urban enterprise, occupational mobility, socio-political orientation, and language and communication. It summarizes sections of the first volume concerning the process of the forced evacuation and presents a series of charts on characteristics of the evacuees and the incidence of "spoilage" and "salvage" by these characteristics.

The percentage classified as "salvage" is somewhat higher for males than for females, higher for Christians and secularists than for Buddhists, and higher for nonagricultural than for agricultural classes. The percentage of persons classified as "salvage" is highest for the United States-educated Nisei, in intermediate position for the Kibei (Nisei who had gone to Japan for their education and had returned to the United States), and lowest for the Issei.

The second part of *The Salvage*, comprising nearly four-fifths of the book, contains fifteen detailed life histories of Nisei resettlers in the Chicago area. About fifty-five usable histories were "reported to Charles Kikuchi in the course of numerous informal contacts and semidirected, loosely constructed interviews, from April, 1943, to August, 1945" (p. 136). Dr Thomas chose for publication the fifteen "that seemed, in her judgment, to be the best possible complement to her treatment of mass phenomena" (p. 147).

The life histories relate to a "schoolboy," agricultural student, journalist, clerk, errand boy, domestic servant, restaurant keeper, mechanic, counter girl, businessman, fruit-stand worker, bookkeeper, music teacher, commercial artist, and civil servant. As only such documents can, the life histories reveal sometimes with pathos and sometimes with grim humor the trying suspense that preceded evacuation, the hardships and disorganizing effects of life in the internment centers, and the struggles to start life anew in areas of resettlement.

The journalist described his recreation to the evacuation as follows:

"I was in a terrible state of mind during this time. I felt very much like refusing to be evacuated in order to put up a protest. Some of my Nisei

friends said that it was senseless to be a martyr because nothing would be gained by it. I was bitter but deep down I knew that my only destiny was America and I couldn't resort to a faith in Japan. . . At the same time, I didn't feel a high patriotism for the United States in the war because some of the beliefs I shared seemed to be eliminated. I didn't have any feeling at all when I read of a United States battleship being struck. I was immune to the whole thing because I was so wound up in my personal agony" (p. 222).

Most of the life histories are 25-35 pages in length. Some of the readers may wish that the author had elected to publish excerpts from a larger number of histories rather than to include only fifteen rather complete histories. The reviewer has the impression that the course followed involved the inclusion of some extraneous materials. For instance, some of the "errand boy's" description of his prewar sex life perhaps would be more pertinent in Kinsey's book than in the one under review. However, the agricultural student revealed the breakdown of social controls in camp life when he said:

" . . . I suppose that the parents had a right to do some worrying because there were a lot of affairs going on. All the fellows started to think about sex a lot and that's about all they talked about. I know I got this way and I wasn't like that before. I used to think that Nisei girls were something sacred and never had any dirty thoughts about them. After I got to camp and the fellows started talking about sex, it was natural for me" (p. 194).

It seems regrettable that the author attempted no synthesis of the life stories. It also seems regrettable that the volume was published too early to permit inclusion of 1950 Census materials on the residence and occupations of the Japanese Americans. However, a companion volume (Leonard Bloom and Ruth Riemer, *Removal and Return*, University of California Press: 1949) provides some comparisons of the prewar and postwar socio-economic status of the Japanese Americans. Despite the omissions mentioned, *The Spoilage* and *The Salvage* provide an excellent analysis of the short-run effects of an episode in our national life which has been a matter of deep concern to many thoughtful citizens.

CLYDE V. KISER

Milbank Memorial Fund

Housing Market Behavior in a Declining Area: Long-Term Changes in Inventory and Utilization of Housing on New York's Lower East Side. By LEO GREBLER. New York: Columbia University Press, 1952. xix, 265 pp. \$4.50.

To the urban sociologist a "declining residential neighborhood" usually means one of two

things. Most frequently the term denotes the fact that such a neighborhood, once designed for and occupied by high income and status groups, has experienced physical obsolescence and been turned over to or taken over by successively lower income and status groups. Occasionally, the term is also used for areas more commonly designated as zones of transition, where the original residential land use is superseded by more intensive land utilization. To these two types the author of the present study has added a third one for which the reviewer would like to suggest the term "area of stagnation".

This type of area is exemplified by New York's Lower East Side which is the object of this survey. According to the author, the Lower East Side has always been a residential area known for its high population density, even at the turn of the century. Its main advantage in the days before rapid transit was its nearness to the place of work for its middle and low income residents. The development of rapid transit, the shift of industrial and commercial activities away from the Lower East Side, and the cessation of large scale immigration deprived the area of most of its earlier advantages and functions. The fact that the considerable decline of the white population in the past fifty years was not accompanied or followed by non-white occupancy lends support to the concept of it as a stagnant area.

During the past half century the Lower East Side has been mainly inhabited by Jewish and Italian populations. A questionnaire survey of pensioned clothing workers revealed that families moved away as increased real income made it possible to obtain higher quality housing in neighborhoods with better educational and community facilities. One of the major complaints of former residents of the area is its congestion and high density. Freedom from congestion appears to be the major motivating force in the tremendous increase in private home-ownership in our metropolitan areas. Nevertheless, the public, semi-public and private redevelopment projects have tended to increase rather than decrease the density of the Lower East Side. It appears questionable whether new housing without diminished densities will give the area a new lease on life. In this connection, it would have been desirable to make a survey of the tenants in the projects in order to determine whether and when they are planning to leave their new residential towers for walk-up apartments or homes in the suburban area.

In some cities such blighted areas are turned to extensive institutional use such as for hospitals, college campuses, and varied recreational use. The data presented in this survey give the

tes the designed status obsolescence by suc- groups. r areas f trans- and use ization. present which the in "area" New object or, the residential density, advanc- was its middle ment of d com- mer East emmigra- earlier that the population unpanied lands sup- area. ver East ish and Survey of at fam- made using in and com- complaints ngestion ngestion force in -owner- therwise, develop- e rather ver East er new will give nection, survey o determine to walk-up area. e turned for hos- eational give the

impression that such is not the case on the Lower East Side. If this impression is correct it can be taken as an additional sign of stagnation of the area. Towards the end of a clearer conception of this type of declining neighborhood and in view of the important and difficult question concerning the future use of blighted land, it would have been desirable to get more explicit information on this point in the form of maps showing all types of land use in 1900 and in 1950.

The bulk of this study is devoted to the presentation of a series of statistical measurements and the methodological problems that arose out of the attempt to find precise quantitative expressions of housing trends. These measurements involve the volume of new construction, rehabilitation, demolition, empty-boarded-up structures, and of vacancies. In addition, data on property transfers, tax assessments, and private and corporate ownership of buildings are presented. Also, a new index of the filtering-down process of old buildings was developed and applied. One of the findings is that the population of the area declined at a faster rate than the demolition of buildings. The reluctance of owners to raze buildings even after total obsolescence is one of the major obstacles to private redevelopment.

Although this statistical exploration of housing and the housing market does not materially change our knowledge of such areas, the quantitative data are a most welcome addition to the storehouse of urban community analysis. The question arises whether the survey contributes toward a solution of the future use of such central urban areas. The author states that "a case study of this type cannot be expected to answer this vexing question." In the light of the data presented in the book such a statement seems too cautious and it would have been desirable if the author had stated more boldly that in the absence of future residential and industrial use the land might best be turned into parks and similar uses. It would be very desirable if the author would reexamine his materials in the light of existing theories of city growth. Such a theoretical framework might produce some answers concerning the future use of such stagnant areas. At the same time it is quite likely that such an interplay between facts and theories might lead to the modification and specification of the latter, a reward well deserved in view of the considerable effort spent in the assembly and treatment of the data.

ERICH ROSENTHAL

Queens College, New York

The Transportation Revolution 1815-1860. By GEORGE R. TAYLOR. (Vol. IV. The Economic History of the United States.) New York: Rinehart & Co. Inc., 1951. xvii, 490 pp. \$4.50.

This volume, featuring the transportation revolution, deals also with other important phases of the economic history of the United States from 1815 to 1860.

The importance of transportation in this period—roads, canals, steamboats on lake and river, the railroads and the merchant marine—warrants the emphasis indicated by the title. It was these media of transport, developing from their infancy in the beginning of this era, that opened the territory of the United States for settlement and linked the Northern States together by 1860, which was a decisive factor in the Civil War.

The author does not neglect non-transportation subjects in the economic history of this 1815 to 1860 period. Besides domestic and foreign trade which are closely related to transportation, there is a concise history of the development of manufacturing, a realistic account of the emergence of the wage earner, a description of financial institutions, an analysis of money, prices and economic fluctuations, a survey of the role of government, and a review of the national economy in 1860.

Professor Taylor has performed a distinct service in presenting a fresh, concise and well written history of this important formative period in the economy of the United States. Well selected photographs, maps, and diagrams enliven the text.

The criticisms of this reviewer are of a minor nature. The great importance of the Illinois and Michigan Canal to the growth of Chicago would seem to have justified a longer treatment than a short paragraph (p. 48). The statement, "Repeatedly enlarged and extended, this canal, unlike so many of the others, has continued in active use," should be qualified or expanded. The old Illinois and Michigan Canal in the vicinity of Chicago is not in use, but the Drainage Canal, constructed in a separate channel running parallel to it is an active waterway. On page 393, three extra ciphers should be added to the figures for the national wealth estimate for 1825 and 1860. The national wealth was at least 16 billion dollars in 1860 and not 16 million. The author is at his best in his qualitative description of economic life, but his analysis of wealth and income is sketchy and based on second hand materials. There are available for this period great mines of records and newspaper accounts on urban and farm land prices and building values which comprise the chief component of the national wealth, but it

is a formidable and tedious task to assemble these data for a sufficient number of cities and sections of the nation to formulate conclusions on a national basis. This neglected field might be the subject for future theses in economic history.

On the whole, Professor Taylor has performed his task of presenting the important phases of the economic life of the United States from 1815 to 1860 with exceptional skill and clarity of thought and expression. This book is one of the best concise sources available on the history of this period.

HOMER HOYT

Chicago, Illinois

The Population of Switzerland. By KURT B. MAYER. New York: Columbia University Press, 1952. ix, 336 pp. \$5.00.

There are two major trends in international demographic research, although both are somewhat obscured by the emotional obscurantism of the food-people controversy. One is the analysis of the population of the limited area in depth; the other is the analysis of the interrelations of demographic and other phenomena. Kurt Mayer's *The Population of Switzerland* illustrates both trends. The framework of the study is conventional: Part I, The growth of the Swiss population. Part II, The factors determining population growth. Part III, The characteristics and social structure of the Swiss population. Part IV, International migration in a small country. Part V, Internal migration and urbanization. Part VI, Future population and population policy. The product is neither conventional demography nor conventional sociology. Switzerland's heritage of quantitative population data is the basis for an analysis of the formation and persistence of a plural society; the complex adjustments between people, resources, economy, political structure, and international relations; the interpenetration of city, country, and the industrial society; and the relations between the total development of the economy and the society and the structure and dynamics of its population.

Switzerland is a model country for such a study, and Professor Mayer as a native son has the combination of knowledge and affection that permits the definition of problems and the meaningful presentation of facts. Switzerland is a small country with few people; its diversities are those of European sub-cultures rather than the chasms of race, caste or imperial status. The population censuses and the vital statistics are manifold, the quality is excellent, and the official presentations are often analytical as well as tabular. And Switzerland has many scholars who have analyzed the population

structure and the population history of the individual areas and the country as a whole. It does not detract from Professor Mayer's contribution to note that he had the full cooperation of the Statistical Office of Switzerland and that he was conversant with and utilized the works of other scholars.

A student of comparative demography is tempted to discuss many of the rather unusual aspects of Swiss population dynamics, especially the contributions of armies and mercenary soldiers to the balancing of labor force and economic opportunity during the early period of rapid increase that accompanied declining mortality. Lack of space and the restrictions of a review prohibit delineation of the demographic adjustments involved in cultural unity with ethnic diversity, industrialization without depressed rural slums, the transition from peasant society without the gigantic metropolis, immigration without Fifth Columns and emigration without loss of cultural identification. The story of Switzerland is a wholesome antidote for the simple generalizations that abound as to industrialization, urbanization, and the vital revolution in the Western world. There have been broad similarities in the demographic evolution of Western peoples in the last three centuries, just as there were broad similarities in the population structures and the population dynamics of the historic agrarian cultures of the East. It may be suggested that a comparative demography which develops generalizations broader than those distilled from European experiences would be facilitated immensely by additional studies such as this which reveal the diversities in social and demographic interrelations within European culture.

IRENE B. TAEUBER
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Princeton University*

Social Dynamics: Principles and Cases in Introductory Sociology. By JOSEPH B. GITTNER. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1952. xi, 346 pp. \$4.00.

Principles of Sociology: A Text with Readings. By RONALD FREEDMAN, AMOS H. HAWLEY, WERNER S. LANDECKER, HORACE M. MINER, with a chapter by GUY E. SWANSON. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1952. xx, 683 pp. \$5.25.

Here are two introductory texts that combine principles of sociology with extensive readings. Both of these works will be welcomed by those who prefer to have students deal with original documents in sociology rather than with warmed-over references that so often fill textbooks.

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Both books avoid the careless encyclopaedic outlook that leads us to understand only that man is everywhere and does amazing things. Professor Gittler's *Social Dynamics* concentrates on readings intended to transmit the sort of knowledge that Cooley called social, knowledge that goes beyond material descriptions to sympathetic interpretations of behavior centered on meanings by which humans order their actions. Man is seen as a creature shaped into a human-social person as he acquires meanings through social interaction with others. Since human-social beings, unlike all other entities, learn to give meanings to others, selves, and things before they react, human interaction is uniquely meaningful interaction. Professor Gittler offers thus a consistent point of departure for principles of sociology in his exposition of the relevance of socially acquired meanings to such social facts as personality, groups and culture, and their diverse expressions and interrelations.

My own meaning-laden response to *Social Dynamics* turns readily on appreciation of its stress on symbolic aspects of human experience. But I am further concerned with the book as a teaching source: the emphasis on sympathetic interpretations of the readings seems to call for empathic responses of teachers to student exercises in empathy. This is a fairly delicate operation, not always brought to success, especially by ordinary teachers working at elementary levels of pedagogy.

The Michigan text, *Principles of Sociology* (prepared by sociologists at the University of Michigan) is ingeniously contrived. Its early chapters proceed through a well-ordered series of general propositions and observations. Starting with talk about groups and culture it leads on to remarkably competent discussions of various forms of social integrations (functional, normative, and by rank and class stratification), and then to what appears to be a preliminary summary chapter on the folk society. Readings in this first half of the book are weighted with ethnological literature. The discussions and readings in the latter half have to do with urban society. The folk-urban comparison is a unifying instrument. Following some general comments on social change and culture contact and specific treatments of the rise of urban society, detailed examinations are undertaken in the latter part of the book of the complexities of urban integrations—of the division of labor, stratification, and normative relations on the urban scene. Situations usually called social problems are skillfully treated in the chapter on normative urban integrations. The concluding chapters concern social change and societal planning in the urban setting. Thus the Michigan text offers a broad ap-

praisal and then in the review of urban society an intensive reappraisal of leading concepts and problems in sociology.

Principles of Sociology exhibits the unusual feature of theory building. Its authors have taken advantage of separation of text from illustration to carry their thinking freely not only through review of what they regard as pertinent present-day knowledge of society but beyond to numerous questions and positions towards which this knowledge tends. Thus the work provides an open and alterable view towards a social and cultural world rather than the dogma and established cosmology of so many introductory texts.

There are observations in the Michigan text that would be difficult to find elsewhere in sociological literature. Social integrations—i.e., function expressed particularly in the division of labor, in role and status, and other devices of social maintenance, and the intricacies of norms, ranks, and classes—are dealt with in a refreshing array of comment so advanced in orientation as to appear as the major contribution of the book. And yet, in addition, the Michigan text is one of the few modern works that gives adequate attention to the fact and theory of social and cultural change. Guy E. Swanson's chapter on social change in the urban society is especially notable as a venture in thinking about change expressed through collective behaviors regarded as collective problem-solving.

Students will call *Principles of Sociology* a "hard" book, meaning that it actually offers something to learn and that they can't predict its contents from its preface. But since it thus does not insult students with happy and simple thoughts about people, they will see some sense to putting forth effort on this book. The Michigan text is an excellent introduction to sociology.

EDWARD ROSE

University of Colorado

Social Psychology: An Analysis of Human Behavior. By LEONARD W. DOOB. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1952. xix, 583 pp. \$5.00.

Fundamentals of Social Psychology. By EUGENE L. HARTLEY and RUTH E. HARTLEY. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1952. xix, 740 pp., plus xvi. \$5.50.

The collection of up-to-date social psychology texts now seems complete and variable enough to suit the taste of all kinds of teachers. The two works reviewed here are good additions to this collection, but they are good in different ways and for different purposes. In spite of broad similarities—for example, the inclusion

of extensive material on delinquency, ethnic groups, language and leadership—they differ on two fundamental questions: What is the content and nature of social psychology today? and What is the student or the teaching process like?

On the content side, as Doob puts it, his book "attempts no major or novel synthesis because the time is not yet ripe to achieve such a synthesis" (p. vii). The Hartleys are more sanguine and more ambitious in this regard; their work represents "an effort to integrate thinking and findings in anthropology, sociology, psychology, and psychiatry, to provide an outline of basic principles governing the nature of human interaction," and to present "a viable conceptual scheme" (pp. vii, viii). This difference in basic orientation is, indeed, reflected in a variety of ways in the two works: for example, in Doob's greater readiness to review critical weaknesses in particular studies as they bear upon general propositions; in the Hartleys' greater effort to provide smooth transitions both within and between chapters; and the like.

The organization of the two works reflects the difference in basic aim. The Hartleys devote all of Part I in their book (six chapters, covering some 190 pages) to a unique analysis of communication as "the basic social process." This section reviews such topics as The Task of the Communicator, The Task of the Communicant, and The Nature of the Communiqué. Much of this is familiar material (e.g., the importance of set in perception; the nature of stereotypes and rumor) in a new setting. Whether this constitutes a successful effort at integration or simply documents Doob's contention that we are not yet ready for integration is a judgment on which readers will vary. Part II of the Hartley work entitled "Socialization—The Group and the Individual" reviews essentially the problems of learning, perception, and the cultural control of behavior and emotion, concluding with a chapter on delinquency as an "applied" problem in socialization. Part III, "The Individual and the Group," is the longest section of the book, containing three chapters on the nature of groups and group processes (including a discussion of group norms, membership and reference groups); two chapters on social role and one on status; and three chapters on attitudes and opinions, with special attention to ethnic attitudes.

Doob's book is likewise organized in three parts. The first, "The Individual in Society," is a straightforward analysis of the bases of behavior and the problems of socialization and learning in a cultural setting. This section also includes a chapter on language and a chapter on methods of research (31 pp.) which sets

forth clearly for the student some complicated problems of statistics and research design. Part II concerns "The Behavior of Groups" covering such topics as ethnic groups and group prejudice, delinquency and crime, leadership, and "organized groups" (morale, groups atmospheres, etc.). Part III entitled "Social Change" deals with vogues, the mass media, social conflicts and problems of re-education, and the diffusion of change.

All in all, on the content side, there are some puzzling omissions and inclusions in both works. The concept of attitude, traditionally a central concern of social psychology, on which Doob himself wrote such a challenging paper not too long ago, receives no systematic treatment in his book. If this is part of the recent emphasis on the language of perception rather than attitude (an emphasis discernible, too, in the Hartleys' book), this reviewer can only register his personal doubts about the wisdom of the change. The concepts of role and status, to which the Hartleys devote considerable attention, do not appear in the index of Doob's book (though social class does). Doob, on the other hand, devotes considerable space to collective phenomena such as fads and fashion, strikes, lynching, war, and revolution; which the Hartleys for the most part ignore. What is perhaps more surprising, neither book attempts a thorough review of the genesis of the social self based, among others, on the work of Mead, Cooley, and Piaget. For that matter, the concept of motive, though frequently mentioned, does not emerge as a coherent area of concern in social psychology. There are many similar concerns which might engage us if space were not limited—e.g., the distinction in the Hartley volume between attitude and opinion, or Doob's frequent resort to "previous predispositions" as an explanatory factor. The above notations, it should be added, may raise more questions about the field of social psychology than they do about the books themselves.

From the standpoint of teachability, there are important further differences between these two works. Doob's book is shorter, written in a more conversational style, and gives more of the body and flavor of the research reports to which it makes reference. These references are frequent, long, and usually in direct quotation. This leads sometimes to difficulty, as when full ten pages in the leadership section are devoted to the OSS study. It likewise may lead the student to a sense of disparateness in the various studies reviewed. For some the book will seem too casual in its coverage. The Hartleys' work by contrast is more compendious, contains bibliographic reference at the close of each chapter, and maintains a more

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consistent chapter by chapter organization. This is done at the cost of considerable repetition. Perhaps these illustrative differences simply re-emphasize that a choice between them in these matters is a choice in teaching style.

In both style and content these are noteworthy texts. They are not simply repeats of the available literature, and by that token they will probably aid materially in promoting the kind of discussion—particularly about variable tastes in the field—which is so essential to the further development of social psychology.

MELVIN SEEMAN

Ohio State University.

Readings in Social Psychology (Revised Edition). Edited by GUY E. SWANSON, THEODORE M. NEWCOMB, and EUGENE L. HARTLEY. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1952. xix, 680 pp. \$5.00.

This book, prepared for The Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, is a revision of one published for the same group in 1947. It is based largely on criticisms and evaluations of the old one by several hundred teachers who used it, and, like its predecessor, it aims at improving the teaching of social psychology by making available representative research reports, concepts, and methods.

The editors (Swanson has been added to the original pair, Newcomb and Hartley, and seems primarily responsible for the volume) have been singularly successful. Without claiming to be exhaustive they have included approximately 60 selections written by leading social scientists of different persuasions and disciplines. The topics covered include, among others, interpersonal influence, mass communication, social norms, social roles and role structures, leadership, "reference group" phenomena, attitude change, socialization, and public opinion. A concluding section is concerned with such "public issues" as intergroup relations, the antidemocratic personality, and human relations in industry.

Primary emphasis is given to empirical research, but there is also a sprinkling of articles devoted to conceptual analysis, e.g., G. H. Mead, R. Linton, R. Merton and A. Kitt, and H. H. Kelley. The research reports include methods ranging from experimental design to case and field studies.

The selections, many of which stem from and utilize different conceptual schemes, are organized into five major Parts, each containing several sub-sections. "Interaction," or, as the editors prefer, "the concept of influence relationships among people" (xix), provides the major unifying theme. Some may cavil at this, but the editors specifically note that their or-

ganizational scheme need not be followed and, in fact, they have included a special Index to aid teachers who may wish to use a different pattern or sequence.

Many who used the first edition of this book will be interested in the "newness" of the second edition. For their benefit it can be stated that nearly one half of the original selections have been omitted from the present volume, for example, the entire section labeled "Social Frustration." Replacements were chosen almost entirely from works published since 1947. It should also be noted that the retained selections have been rearranged to correspond to the new organizational scheme.

In sum, this book is a splendid addition to the growing list of "Readings." It should prove satisfactory to both sociologists and social psychologists. Indeed, it may well be one of the most useful books in the behavioral sciences, especially if one seeks a range of ideas and data rather than systematic theory on a broad scale.

EDMUND H. VOLKART

Yale University.

Navaho Veterans: A Study of Changing Values. By EVON Z. VOGT. Cambridge: Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Vol. 41, No. 1, 1951. xix, 224 pp. \$3.00.

According to Professor Kluckhohn, in an introductory statement, this monograph is the first to be published in a series of studies by students in the Laboratory of Social Relations at Harvard University dealing with social values among peoples living in the Rimrock area of New Mexico. It presents the results of an exploratory study of changing social values (value defined as "a conception . . . which influences the selection between available modes, means, and ends of action") among Navaho males who have been exposed for varying lengths of time to one or more types of contacts with whites, such as through the trading post, the school, the church, wage work, and military service.

It is generally agreed that the area of social change is still one of the most crucial fields for research in the social sciences. Dr. Vogt has tackled the problem within the framework of social values, an approach which has received increasing attention in the last fifteen years. His study is one of the first to be found in the social sciences which makes extensive use of the concept of social value as an analytical tool in empirical research (Thomas and Znaniecki used the concept in a slightly different sense in *The Polish Peasant*).

The author raises three questions: (1) How do significant changes in individual Navaho

value systems tend to occur? (2) What part did military service play in bringing about crucial shifts in individual Navaho value systems? (3) Which aspects of individual Navaho value systems tend to be more resistant, and which aspects less resistant, to change? Following are the conclusions which he reaches: (1) Deviance from the traditional patterns of Navaho society and personal conflict and insecurity tend to lead to changes in individual value systems. But the changes in values also seem to stimulate further changes in the patterns of cultural, social and personal adjustment. (2) Military service "not only had an important effect in the further acculturation of those veterans who were maximally acculturated before the war, but also usually had an important effect upon those who were minimally acculturated before they entered the armed forces." (3) As might be expected, Vogt found value orientations toward the material culture most susceptible to change. But it is interesting to note that he found the values governing Navaho social organization more resistant to change than many of the values associated with the Navaho religious and ceremonial system. Finally, Vogt states that what he terms "implicit values" (those value orientations which are seldom or never consciously verbalized—Warner's "social logics") seem to be most resistant to change. He suggests, in fact, that perhaps these implicit aspects of a value system will always tend to be the most resistant to change in contact situations. But this hypothesis needs further testing.

The data used in this study came from a variety of sources. The author obtained case histories from twelve Navaho veterans of World War II and from three non-veterans of the same age group. His data also included daily observations of and informal interviews with the veterans and their families, formal interviews with the veterans, interviews with Navaho and white leaders in the area, observation and interview materials collected by other observers on the same individuals over the twelve-year period from 1936 to 1948, and a series of projective tests (Rorschach, Thematic Apperception, and Sentence Completion).

Dr. Vogt's study makes valuable additions both to the theory and to the practical knowledge of social change and, particularly, to the role of values in fostering or hindering change. Perhaps his outstanding contribution to social theory is to be found in his careful and discerning analysis of the interplay among cultural, social and personal factors in determining the acceptance or rejection of elements in a foreign culture. Social change brings new values, and new values lead to still further change, but the process is always a highly selective one

operating within a framework of cultural, social and personal determinants which are never exactly the same for any two individuals.

CHARLES N. ELLIOTT
Fairmont State College

Changing the Attitude of Christian Toward Jew: A Psychological Approach through Religion. By HENRY ENOCH KAGAN. New York: Columbia University Press, 1952. xvi, 155 pp. \$2.75.

This is a report of a carefully controlled experiment to modify antisemitic attitudes in the context of religious education. The research design, although specialized in this regard, has some applicability in evaluating current efforts at intercultural education in the American public educational system.

The author, who is both a Rabbi and a psychologist, sought to test whether anti-semitic attitudes would be decreased by the presentation of historical facts about the "significant Jewish contribution to Christianity." A series of student summer camp seminars sponsored by Episcopal and Methodist groups supplied the 525 subjects employed.

Since the author was aware that factual information had little likelihood of modifying prejudiced attitudes, the classroom situation is described as being four-dimensional. In addition to information, he found that emotional appeals, prestige symbols, and equal status were elements of the experimental situation. According to the experimenter, the use of Biblical materials supplied emotional valence for the church members. Prestige stemmed from the fact that the experimenter who presented the material was a Rabbi, an official representative of Judaism, officially authorized by the Protestant authorities to teach their students.

Three approaches were employed in presenting the materials: indirect group method (a series of straight lectures), direct group method (a series of group discussions), and the focused private interview. In this latter method, students who had been exposed to group discussions were interviewed privately for thirty minutes and encouraged to relate their personal experiences with Jews.

The research method involved before and after attitude scales based upon write-in questionnaires administered to experimental and control groups as well as to a follow-up sample after eight months. The schedules include not only attitude items, but items designed to probe actual behavioral practices.

It is gratifying to learn that none of the procedures increased anti-semitism. The indirect group method produced slightly higher scores in the eight months follow-up, although not

enough to indicate any meaningful increase in anti-Jewish prejudice. Both the direct group method and the private focused interview produced a significant reduction which persisted after eight months. The stability of change was greater in the case of the direct group method. Limitations of these attitude changes can be inferred from the observation that, in the follow-up, none of the students reported any modifications in his own expressed verbal behavior involving Jews.

The research can be taken as confirmation of a generally recognized point in education—the superior effectiveness of group discussion as a technique of manipulation of ethnic attitudes. Since the component elements of the private focused interview do not lend themselves to explicit statement, it is difficult to evaluate its implications.

MORRIS JANOWITZ

University of Michigan

The Nature of Nondirective Group Psychotherapy: An Experimental Investigation. By LEON GORLOW, ERASmus L. HOCH, and EARL F. TELSCHOW. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1952. viii, 143 pp. \$3.25.

In substance this book is more modest than the title. It proves to be a report of 20 therapy sessions for three groups of emotionally disturbed graduate students attending Columbia Teachers College. The 16 students who completed the program are divided into a group of eight who profited most and a group of eight "who profited little or not at all." The investigators utilize pre and post session Rorschach, sentence completion, and check list materials in their analysis along with their specially devised categories for describing the therapy discussion. They have two interests: (a) to determine the typical elements of a nondirective psychotherapeutic process and (b) to discover how the differential improvement of patients may be related to their participation in the therapy group.

Their major unit for categorizing the therapeutic discussion is a "theme," defined as the portion of a discussion in which one member assumed a central role. Within a theme all communication is conceived of as being originated by a member acting as "client," "therapist," or general participant. These headings are further subdivided into 48 microcategories, which later, in order to avoid small frequencies, are recombined into 17 categories according to what are reported to "seem to constitute natural cut-off points." The reader may judge the plausibility of these regroupings: No. 1, discussion of plans, insight and understanding, positive or ambivalent attitude toward self or others; No. 2, statement or elaboration of prob-

lem; No. 3, ambivalent acceptance or rejection of clarification, opinion, advice, or interpretation; . . . No. 16, humor; No. 17, asking group leader a question.

The authors give brief definitions of categories but they do not describe the unit they score nor the problem they must certainly encounter in establishing the division between units. They report impressively high agreement between judges scoring the same session (75 per cent). Fortunately they do not imply that an outsider could replicate their operations given protocols and their book.

Their interpretation of the rank order correlation between category frequencies as a measure of the similarity of group experience (p. 40) or members' roles (p. 50) is doubtful practice. One might with equal reason say that all verbal productions with the same percentage of nouns convey the same message. If the expected rate of occurrence of the 17 categories was relatively equal, *rho* might be somewhat more applicable, but if the expected rate of occurrence is steeply graded, then the resultant high *rho* obscures the variations which the careful analyst should be sensitive to. A further defect of this analysis is that data of demonstrated importance such as the relative frequency of participation by different members is lost entirely.

The many findings reported in the conclusions (the most improved patients used more nondirective behavior toward other patients, etc.) will be suggestive to readers interested in group therapy. One might wish that a more convincing rationale had been given for stressing any set of comparisons chosen from the almost enumerable alternatives generated in a study of this type. It seems inexcusable that the three authors did not use the two years between their Ph.D. dissertations, from which this book is compounded, and the present publication to relate their work to the rapidly developing field of small group analysis. Their chapter reviewing the literature exposes the provincialness of restricting one's interest to studies of therapy while attempting to speak generally about group process.

Needless to say, their book contributes little to the legitimization of "group," "nondirective," or "nondirective group" psychotherapy as therapeutically superior to folk dancing or any other group activity. Their techniques are crude prototypes of those which would be required in such evaluations. It is in this sense that we may regret that their research team has now been broken up and the prospects of their improving on this pilot study interfered with.

FRED L. STRODTBECK

Yale University

Understanding Public Opinion. By CURTIS D. MACDOUGALL. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1952. xii, 698 pp. \$5.00.

Public opinion as a field of study suffers from the conflicting demands and approaches of three different disciplines—sociology, psychology, and political science. Added to this academic confusion are the diverse rules of thumb developed by the many practitioners in the field of public opinion. The net result is that almost all of the books recently published on this subject are very uneven, reflecting the competence of the author in his own field and displaying his lack of knowledge in the related fields. Such is the case in the present volume, wherein a professor of journalism presents "a guide for newspaper men and newspaper readers" which equates public opinion with any and all social thought and action and which attempts to explain human behavior by a popular treatment of such topics as "The Nature of Man" (Chapter 2), and "The Nature of Society" (Chapter 3). As in the case of most such attempts, the oversimplification of basic concepts results in a volume which will leave most social scientists annoyed and displeased. While the present text may be useful in schools of journalism, it probably will be of limited value to social scientists. Furthermore, in this reviewer's opinion, the student of journalism would benefit more from a basic text in social psychology than from the present popular translation.

However, this book does have a definite place in the study of public opinion. While it may not succeed in its attempt to translate social psychological principles into newspaper paragraphs, it does offer an incisive and impressive analysis of American customs and morals, which, like Thurstone's definition of an attitude, includes within public opinion "the sum total of a man's inclinations and feelings, prejudice or biases, preconceived notions, ideas, fears, threats and convictions." The author looks at life around him and finds in all places much evidence of the irrationality of public opinion, or, as this reviewer would prefer to put it, human behavior. This is a refreshing advance from the often unrealistic, logical analysis of public opinion based upon the assumption of man as a rational, political animal. The value of this contribution, however, is lessened by an over-concentration upon the more negative aspects of man as a creature of habit, a slave to cultural fads and fashions, selfish, weak and insecure, full of superstitions and inhibited by myths and taboos, resistant to progress, easy prey to reactionary forces, and incapable of intelligent thought or action—all this explained by that meaningless phrase "because man is what he is" (p. 33).

The book is well-written in a clear, colloquial

style, full of humor, provided one is still able to smile, containing literally hundreds of current illustrations of human folly and weakness. As a journalist writing for newspaper men, the author's vast repertoire of newspaper stories and his live, journalistic style is bound to serve not only as an education in human behavior, but also as a lesson on how to write good copy.

Unfortunately, the author is also human and is no less subject to "being what he is" than the public about which he talks. To a surprising degree, considering his brilliant insight into human foibles, MacDougall fails to recognize many of these same processes conditioning his own beliefs. The author's predilection for the extreme statement, the positive, unqualified assertion of definite opinion, his inability to see about him the many positive forces counteracting the negative aspects of American culture, the concentration upon the exploitative rather than the altruistic, all indicate the author's own cynical and polemic approach. The author's one-sentence subhead for Chapter 14, "Education and Schools," is as succinct a characterization of the critical tone of this book as any that this reviewer could compose—"American schools tend to turn out conservatives and conformists and to discourage heresy in all fields" (p. 529).

The book is divided into three parts. Part I, dealing with definitions and fundamental principles, is the weakest of the three. The popular presentation of the nature of man and the nature of society amounts to a series of oversimplified definitions and illustrations of such basic psychological and sociological concepts as institutions, customs, ideals, ingroup-outgroup relationships, projection, rationalization, etc. While the illustrations are well chosen, they will not serve to give the reader an adequate awareness of the basic principles underlying psychological and social behavior. There is no mention of some of the more recent developments, such as status and role and referent group theory.

Part II, on culture and public opinion, deals with the major themes and values, as the author sees them, of American society, including such subjects as legends, folklore, myths, taboos, censorship, superstitions, prejudice, fashions, fads, crazes, mass hysteria, the Red scare, and rumors. The above words are the author's own and constitute his section headings. The negative tone is not purely coincidental to the content of the chapters. Although there is a great deal that one can disagree with in MacDougall's characterization of American society, the various superstitions, myths and legends of American society are dramatically illustrated and, as the author states, "It all sounds a little crazy, and it is" (p. 173). By and large, this approach to

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what passes for public opinion is a welcome addition to existing treatments of the subject. This is public opinion studied as a living, everyday experience of millions of ordinary people. It is a down-to-earth treatment of fads and fashions instead of mass revolutions and race riots, of superstitions, and folktales instead of political philosophy and debate. It is a story of the everyday thoughts and actions of the common man—with all his faults and few of his virtues laid bare.

Part III, although titled "Public Opinion Media," deals with such non-media subjects as leadership, language, the arts, religion and churches, education and schools. Here, again, we find a novel and successful expansion of the usual analysis of public leaders to include such interesting and daily American hero types as sports and movie stars. The author offers a daring analysis of the most sacred of public institutions—the church—considered "too hot to handle" by most newspaper men. He discusses such covertly recognized but infrequently acknowledged current problems as church pressure groups activities, the Catholic-Protestant conflict, the effects of religious superstition on rational public opinion, religion and war, science, economics, politics, and education. It has long been known by students of public opinion that religious affiliation and church attendance are basic determinants of opinion. But very few individuals have been willing to offer a critical evaluation of this factor. This chapter shows MacDougall at his heretical best (or worst).

Of the different media of communication, only the newspapers receive any detailed treatment. The author does not exempt his own profession from his general attack, although he does show a greater understanding for journalists as at least "sincere and ethical" who "come by their conservatism naturally and honestly"—a sympathetic awareness that would have been a tremendous help to the rest of the book. In his treatment of the television medium, the author jumps the gun with a poor prognosis, losing sight of his own cynicism concerning the low level of public taste. He dismisses television with one short paragraph, including the sentence, "the quality of entertainment provided during the first few years of full operation fell far short of what it undoubtedly will be necessary to provide in order to induce any fans to abandon old-fashioned radio" (p. 491). Most studies today indicate a rash of listeners getting out of the frying pan of radio into the fire of television.

In summary, the author undertook what would be a difficult task for our best social scientists—an analysis of public opinion in terms of basic psychological principles and political, economic,

and social institutions. He approached the problem without pulling punches, expressing his own personal cynicism and negative opinion of current public opinion. He writes in a lively, journalistic style, using many examples and documenting the text with constant reference to actual newspaper stories. This reviewer cannot estimate the appeal of the book to the journalism student, but it would appear that most social scientists will find the absence of any systematic framework or any effort at generalization too great a shortcoming for the use of this book in a classroom.

EDWARD A. SUCHMAN

Cornell University

Intelligence and Cultural Differences: A Study of Cultural Learning and Problem Solving.
By K. EELLS, A. DAVIS, R. J. HAVIGHURST,
V. E. HERRICK, and R. W. TYLER. Chicago:
University of Chicago Press, 1951. xii, 388
pp. \$5.00.

This book reports one phase of an extended study of cultural learning as it bears upon the solution of problems in intelligence tests. The larger study is sponsored by Allison Davis and other members of the Committee on Human Development of the University of Chicago.

The book is organized into three major sections. Part I consists of six chapters written by the five persons listed as authors of the book. These chapters define the problem, summarize the results of studies of cultural differences which characterize different groups of children in American communities, indicate the findings of previous studies dealing with the relationship of I.Q. to cultural background, and raise a number of basic questions about possible relationships between cultural backgrounds and intelligence testing. For the most part this section serves as a general introduction to the research done by Eells and reported in the three summary chapters which comprise Part II and in full detail in the 14 chapters of Part III. This review will be confined to the actual research reported in Parts II and III.

The principle purpose of the study ". . . is to provide a basis for tentative inferences, and for further research, dealing with the extent to which group differences in I.Q.'s, as between cultural status groups, may be due to the presence in the tests of materials drawn more largely from the cultural characteristic of high-status pupils than from that with which low status pupils are familiar" (p. 51). The study analyzes the responses of students from high and low social status backgrounds to more than 650 test items from eight widely used group intelligence tests. The children were selected on

the basis of socioeconomic status from 5,000 white children aged 9, 10, 13 and 14 years in the schools of Rockford, Illinois. One high and two low status groups were used to study the relation of status to I.Q. and to analyze the responses of children of differing cultural backgrounds to the individual items of the tests.

Moderate correlations (.20 to .43) are found between I.Q.'s and socio-economic status. On the average the students in the high status group are from 8 to 23 I.Q. points higher than those in the low status groups, depending on the test used, but there is a large amount of overlapping on all status levels. There is considerable evidence that high and low status groups differ significantly in the proportion of the intelligence test questions answered correctly; however, on some questions there is no significant difference between the various status groups. Status differences are largest for verbal and smallest for either non-verbal items or those involving simple everyday words. When status is held constant the different ethnic groups perform about the same, both on the tests as a whole and on the individual items. The same is true for age differentials, if the symbolism in the tests is held constant.

Five types of factors are mentioned which may contribute to status difference in intelligence test performance: genetic ability, developmental factors, cultural bias in test items, test motivation, and test skills. To shed light on the relative importance of these factors a number of explanations for the observed differences are set up and examined in light of the data available from the study. These results are in no sense conclusive, but it is suggested that the most adequate general explanation for the findings resides in the variations in opportunity for familiarity with specific cultural words, objects, or processes required for answering test items. Because the study was not designed to test the relative importance of the factors which may contribute to intelligence test performance, this conclusion may be regarded only as a plausible inference.

The question is then raised as to the implications of the study for the construction of intelligence tests. The answer is conditional upon the definition of intelligence the author of a test has in mind. An adequate definition must include at least three elements: the source of intelligence, the kinds of mental activity to be considered as reflecting intelligence, and a statement of the kinds of problems and situations in terms of which intelligence is to be considered. Some confusion may be avoided by differentiating three kinds of intelligence tests: those purporting to measure genetic ability, those purporting to measure developmental in-

telligence, and those purporting to measure scholastic and other special abilities. It is probably impossible to measure genetic intelligence with accuracy. Tests of scholastic and other special abilities, when there is no concern with the source of the ability or the extent to which the kinds of problems are common to the student's culture, can be developed once the abilities have been specified. Tests of developmental intelligence should measure the mental abilities or capacities of a child at any given time after birth when environment has had opportunity to have some impact on the development of the child. "A test of developmental intelligence should exclude items showing status differences due to the cultural-bias factor and types of items especially subject to cultural differences in test motivation. It should not, however, exclude those cultural or status influences which are reflected in the differences of present ability" (p. 74). Two ways are suggested for making valid comparison of the abilities of children from different cultural backgrounds. One is to base the test on problems that are equally common and prominent in both cultures; the other is to judge each child's intelligence in terms of his ability to solve the kinds of problems important in his own culture and to devise some standard score or ratio system to make comparison possible. Eells favors the common-culture approach even though it may be difficult to find a suitable number of problems common to the different cultures and even though some of the most important types of problems may have to be omitted because they are peculiar to a culture.

From this and other research it is apparent that differences in the measured intelligence of children from different status groups are due in part to culture-biased items in existing intelligence tests. To the extent that this is true, these tests are inadequate for measuring either the genetic or the developmental intelligence of children from these groups. Consequently, those who have used results produced by existing group intelligence tests to prove that lower status children have lower genetic or developmental intelligence than higher status children probably have overstated the case. It has long been recognized by researchers that tests standardized in one culture should not be used in other cultures, and some have argued against the use of existing tests for members of subcultures within a society; however, this is the most ambitious and satisfactory study yet made showing the influence of cultural bias on intelligence tests. It is a well designed and well executed study, and the results are clearly stated. The statement of factors contributing to status differences in intelligence and the sug-

gestion made about the development of new tests of developmental intelligence seem quite insightful and reasonable but are not products in any direct sense of the research. The case made for the construction of new tests of developmental intelligence is a good one. The admonition that a test of developmental intelligence should exclude culture-biased items and those subjected to cultural differences in test motivation but should not exclude those cultural or status influences which are reflected in true differences of present ability, is hardly a sufficient chart for anyone who wishes to construct such a test. On this and many other difficult methodological problems, few, if any, procedural suggestions are made. Also, it should be emphasized that there are many legitimate uses for existing intelligence tests. To the extent that our dominant culture is a middle-class culture and success is achieved by solving problems that are middle class oriented, the most functional estimate of intelligence for many purposes may be that provided by present tests which seem to be culture-biased in favor of middle-class backgrounds.

WILLIAM H. SEWELL

University of Wisconsin

The Black Market: A Study of White Collar Crime. By MARSHALL B. CLINARD. New York: Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1952. xvii, 392 pp. \$5.00.

Important single events have not occurred very often in the history of criminology. This is especially true in regard to the theory of criminality. One such event was Healy's *The Individual Delinquent* (1915), a study which forced Healy to the conclusion that the facts were too much for the theories of inheritance of criminality. A more recent significant contribution was Sutherland's theory of differential association, which he applied in 1940 to the area of white collar crime. Sutherland's work showed the inability of theories of personal and social pathology to explain systematic crime. It also freed criminology from its long empirical and theoretical dependence upon *Uniform Crime Reports* through the simple means of bringing all criminals within the purview of the discipline, not just those caught by the police.

Clinard's *The Black Market* continues and extends the area of investigation of white collar crime. It is an empirical study of the nature and extent of the black market in this country during World War II. The book is well-written and very readable. When reading the chapter on the meat black market, I again saw vividly some of the exciting days when I was myself doing some investigating of the black market among meat wholesalers in

Detroit. The first two chapters define the black market and show something of its extent. Black market dealings are shown to be white collar crime, defined broadly by Clinard as illegal activities of business and professional men. The factual material demonstrates many of the similarities between white collar crime and ordinary criminal activities. The black marketeers are shown to have been businessmen and firms who were in business both before and after price control and rationing. The phenomenon of the black market is thus shown to be different from that of liquor-law violations during prohibition, because the organized violation of the latter laws was conducted primarily by men who were not in the liquor business prior to prohibition.

The third chapter describes governmental attempts to control the black market, and specifies some of the errors it committed. The fourth chapter describes the attitudes of the average citizen toward price control and the black market. Clinard briefly summarizes some twenty extensive public opinion polls conducted during the war, all of which showed overwhelming support for price control. In attempting to assess the relative blame of the government, the public, and business for the black market, business appears in the most unfavorable light, by far. As one high price-control administrator told a Congressional committee, "After all, it is the businessman who has the goods to sell."

The fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters are devoted to a detailed analysis of the meat and gasoline black markets, and to landlords as violators of rent-ceilings. These chapters demonstrate that most black market violations were complex, evasive, and willful in nature. The ninth chapter deals specifically with the conception of black market violations as crimes. It contains an analysis of the various sanctions established for use in cases of price control and rationing violations. These are the criminal sanction, injunction, treble damage action, license suspension suit, and rationing suspension order. This chapter by itself should answer any objection that Clinard's black marketeers were not criminals, even though the courts and the Office of Price Administration tended toward a marked leniency with these law-violators. One of the objections to the concept of white collar crime is that the legal procedure used in these offenses is not always the criminal charge, but may be one of those enumerated above. Clinard's chapter on "Black Market Violations as Crimes" presents a telling answer to this objection. All illegal behavior should be studied in criminology, he shows, regardless of the type of procedure: criminal, civil, or administrative. Further, all illegal behavior should

be studied, regardless of the type of sanction imposed. A detailed examination of a series of cases showed that "both civil and administrative actions were used in cases involving definite criminal behavior" (p. 234). In addition, there are no criteria by which the relative seriousness of offenses can be distinguished by the type of sanction imposed. This is important, because of the common belief that the criminal sanction is used in the most serious crimes, with the civil sanction being reserved for mild "law-violations" and breaches of contract. Clinard is simply asking that all crimes and all criminals be considered in any general criminological theory.

Chapter Ten of *The Black Market* shows that white collar crimes occurred during peacetime as well as wartime, that crimes other than those of price and rationing controls occurred during the war, and that in many cases the violation of wartime criminal law was at the same time a violation of a well-established peacetime criminal law. Chapter Eleven considers various explanations of black market crimes. Clinard shows the dearth of factual knowledge concerning white collar criminals, and also shows that these people are not primarily gangsters and other shady elements who have wormed their way into business. He then discusses the black market in terms of Sutherland's theory of differential association, offering a number of pertinent objections to it as being a complete explanation.

The Black Market is, in my opinion, an important factual and theoretical contribution to the field of criminology. I believe it will play an important role in the evaluation of criminological theory which is currently in progress.

FRANK E. HARTUNG

Wayne University.

Marriage and the Family: A Catholic Approach.

By JOHN J. KANE. New York: The Dryden Press, 1952. xv, 341 pp. \$3.00.

In this text for Catholic students, Professor Kane has ably demonstrated that adherence to the Church's views on the family need not preclude awareness and appreciation of the usefulness of secular science in this field. Implicit throughout the book, this viewpoint is stated directly when he says that "Catholics must join

forces with all men of good will, and this includes most contemporary social scientists, in an effort to utilize not repudiate social science" (p. 71). The author has not avoided or distorted facts presented by sociologists which might be unpalatable to one with his theological views. At relevant points the views of the Church and the sociological data are scrupulously identified as such. Any special problems raised for the Catholic student by the data are discussed clearly and calmly, and with a virtual absence of invidious comparisons between religion and science.

Aside from its Catholic frame of reference the book may be categorized as a compromise between a straight sociology of the family and a marriage preparation text, written for an elementary course. A brief Part One presents an institutional analysis, beginning with a discussion of ethnic variations in family organization, continuing with a sketch of the historical origins of the American family in the Hebrew, Greek and Roman cultures and ending with a discussion of the impact of social change on the American family.

Part Two deals under familiar chapter headings with the American family. Considering the brevity of the text, a good job is done in covering and critically evaluating much of the relevant research literature in simple, clear language. On the sociological level it is eclectic in approach, and like some of the established texts in the field which share this characteristic there is difficulty in assimilating the many brief references to the literature into a consistent theoretical frame of reference. In so short a work this feature makes at times for a certain superficiality which instructors may not find serious in introductory courses.

Professor Kane's book does not open new horizons in the study of the family, but very few texts do. Without question it deserves the respect of sociologists generally for its honest workmanship and skillful transmission of much current knowledge in the field of the family. It is probably the best text available for teachers in Catholic schools who wish to use a sociologically sound work which is also avowedly Catholic where value judgments are concerned.

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BOOK NOTES

Organization and the Individual. By E. WIGHT BAKKE. New Haven: Labor and Management Center, Yale University, 1952. vi, 55 pp. \$1.00.

Written primarily for the administrator, this short, compact report has as its chief aim the linking of the academic and the "action" worlds. Bakke, Director of the Labor and Management Center, Yale University, attempts, in what he calls non-technical but precise language, a systematic presentation of basic principles dealing with the fusion of the individual and the organization. The four major concepts offered are The Organization and its Bonds of Organization, The Individual, The Fusion Process, The Problem Solving Process. These key concepts are outgrowths of years of basic research and have been previously introduced in the author's *Adaptive Human Behavior*. Here they are developed further, refined, and models of the latter two concepts are added to the overall pattern which he calls "Structure of Living." An ingenious diagram of this structure is found on the last page of the report.

The publication is designed to provide the administrator and the researcher with an understandable systematic framework so that diagnosis of organizational ills, problem solving, and research can be furthered. In addition, Bakke illustrates the application of his organizational models and concepts to a number of diverse managerial problems such as: communication, the foremen problem, employee testing, the slowdown, organizational loyalty, and leadership training. Furthermore, the author suggests a number of excellent research problems centering around his major hypotheses.

This report is stimulating and provocative. For the academic man, however, its value will be modified by the lack of documentation and the need for further elucidation.—ERWIN O. SMIGEL.

An Introduction to Field Theory and Interaction Theory (REVISED EDITION). By CHRIS ARGYRIS. New Haven: Labor and Management Center, Yale University, 1952. v, 71 pp. \$1.00.

This slender but carefully written volume was prepared, as the author announces, "to introduce, to the beginning student, two important and often used theories in human relations in industry. They are Field Theory and Interaction Theory." The Yale Labor and Management Center is undertaking to summarize broad theories bearing on human relations in

industry, and the present document concerns itself with two of these.

The author bases his work on the writings of leading exponents of the two theories, supplemented by some correspondence, and arranges the subject-matter under headings appropriate for his purposes. The space of the volume is about evenly divided among the discussions of the two theories.

Within the limits in which the task was defined, the author, in the reviewer's judgment, prepared an introduction to the Field and Interaction theories which should prove very useful to those unacquainted with the areas under discussion. Of the two the Field Theory was more fully stated. The summary of the Interaction Theory included more controversial material than the aim of description would perhaps have warranted.

One wonders, by way of a suggestive query, if the author's purpose might not have been better served by approaching the Field and Interaction theories more generally than the relatively limited application to industrial relations allows. Had this been done he could have shown that both theories overlap to a large extent. Thus both deal with interaction, systems of variables, interdependence. Both subordinate the individual to the situation. Emphasis could have been placed on the derivative working concepts as the elements which distinguish the approaches of the several researchers employing the same basic theoretical ideas. Moreover, the contributions of theorist-experimentalists, like Bales, whose work does not center immediately on but could be applied to industrial relations, could have been drawn into the theoretical framework being described.

As it stands, however, the work is scholarly and will serve the purpose well for which it was intended.—JOHN JAMES.

Employment and Economic Status of Older Men and Women: May 1952 (Bulletin No. 1092). By the UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR, BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS. Washington: Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1952. v, 58 pp. Thirty cents.

This bulletin is a revision and more comprehensive presentation of material included in the "Fact Book on Employment Problems of Older Workers" issued by the Bureau of Labor Statistics in 1950. Like its predecessor, it is a valuable reference for the sociologist interested in the demographic trends and economic problems of aging and the aged. Wherever possible, data

are differentiated by sex in order to show significant similarities and differences in employment and economic status.

Besides the Bureau of Labor Statistics, principal sources for the descriptive data, tables, and charts are the Bureau of the Census, the Social Security Administration, the Railroad Retirement Board, and the Department of Labor's Bureau of Employment Security. Seven major topics are covered: population trends, trends in the labor force, life expectancy, and the length of working life, income and sources of income, retirement and pension programs based on employment, the extent to which workers eligible for pensions continue in employment, and the job experience of older workers. There are twenty-seven useful tables and six charts throughout the text. Last is a helpful listing of other publications of the Department of Labor related to the employment and economic status of older men and women.—MILTON L. BARRON.

Population of the Federal Republic of Germany and West Berlin. By PAUL F. MYERS and W. PARKER MAULDIN. Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1952. vi, 95 pp. No price indicated.

This is the first of a series of reports published by the Bureau of the Census devoted to the population of foreign countries. In essence this monograph is a summary of data available as of March, 1952 on the demographic trends which have occurred in the area now known as the Federal Republic of Germany. The tabular formats are characteristic of the Bureau of the Census publications. Data are presented on population growth and distribution, age and sex composition, occupation, employment status, migration, etc.

As a result of the war and the division of the nation thereafter, a number of sociological and economic problems confront the Republic: (1) the integration of 9.8 million expellees and refugees, (2) the housing problem, (3) unemployment. To the sociologist-demographer the imbalance in the sex ratio should be of particular interest. There were only 88 males to each 100 females in the population. When broken down by age groups the ratio drops as low as 60 males per 100 females in certain age groups. What, for example, will be the consequences of this imbalance in terms of marriage opportunities for females, the birth rate, sexual mores, and women in industry?

Within these one hundred pages of text, tables, and figures is concrete evidence of what has happened socially, economically, and politically to a once powerful nation. The Hitler dream of "Lebensraum" has indeed become a "Lebenstraum."—HEINZ J. GRAALFS.

Labor in the Soviet Union. By SOLOMON M. SCHWARZ. New York: Praeger, 1952. xviii, 364 pp. \$6.00.

Rapid industrialization and its far-reaching social correlates provide the key to understanding the specific structural features of Soviet society. These problems are the central theme of Schwarz's study. A result of prolonged but patient research, this study is a competent and minute analysis of such important problems as the growth and socio-political metamorphosis of the Soviet working class, the social and economic significance of the labor market, and the general development of labor relations, working conditions, and the standard of living of the Soviet people in general and the Soviet worker in particular.

This book is not easy reading primarily because its author prefers naked facts to verbal embroidery. As a careful researcher Schwarz does not make sweeping generalizations. His overall appraisal of the Soviet system has not been explicitly stated. He does not try to interpret the significant socio-economic developments within a larger political framework. Yet he makes it conclusively evident that the socio-economic development of Soviet labor has been dominated by ubiquitous state coercion, state control, and general oppression. He consistently sticks to the facts and guards himself against any rash statements. This gives weight to his book which is easily one of the most serious and challenging critiques of the Soviet system and its failures and false promises that has appeared in English in recent years.

The study is based primarily on Soviet sources and proves eloquently that a scholar, by using Soviet materials carefully and critically, is in the position to acquire deep insights into the labyrinth of the Bolshevik world.—A. VUCINICH.

Mahatma Gandhi: Peaceful Revolutionary. By HARIDAS T. MUZUMDAR. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1952. xi, 127 pp. \$2.00.

This is a sympathetically written account of the life and influence of Gandhi, with emphasis on social philosophy and spiritualistic aspects; plus a short bibliography and chronology. The booklet attempts to give a "psychograph" and "sociograph," not a biography.

The author participated in at least one of Gandhi's actions of "civil disobedience." In view of this relationship one can understand the revering treatment of Gandhi. Sometimes we learn details only the disciple can record. Unfortunately, however, the book merely conveys the ideology of Gandhi. There is little of critical analysis. Occasionally the book is a sermon on

the ethics of self-renunciation. The author wants us to implement the message of Gandhi.

The theme of exploitation reverberates throughout the book. The pattern is like this: Asiatic lower class exploited by its middle class, all of Asia exploited by the West, Western Man exploited by his machines. The author mentions the fact that without the efficient means of communication and similar improvements brought by the British, the entire phenomenon of Gandhi's existence could not have come into being. Yet Muzumdar does not draw the obvious conclusions.

It is difficult to see why political nationalism, having wrecked Europe, should become a panacea for Asia. Consequently, sentences like the following make one wonder about the ultimate outcome of *Point Four*: "With English as the language of communication, with railroads binding the farflung provinces of India with bands of steel, with inexpensive postal service, with the press as the vehicle of new ideas, the state was set for the upsurge of political nationalism."

Also Gandhi appears to have desired the benefits of industrialism without foregoing the idyllic features of the pre-industrial world.—HELMUT SCHOECK.

Transactions of the Conference on Morale—and the Prevention and Control of Panic. (Held under the joint auspices of THE NEW YORK ACADEMY OF MEDICINE and the JOSIAH MACY, JR. FOUNDATION.) New York: New York Academy of Medicine. 75 pp. No price indicated.

The conference at which these papers were given stemmed, apparently, from a consciousness of the need for coordination and integration of thinking and research about problems of civil defense, particularly the maintenance of morale and the minimization of panic. The *Transactions* underline the need for more systematic research and greater communication in the field of disaster studies.

Participants included psychiatrists, clinical psychologists, people from the press and radio, and an official of the National Association for Mental Health. Topics discussed included the treatment of mentally disturbed victims, individual and mass panic, stress, morale, leadership, mass communication, and organization for disaster.

The rather chaotic nature of thinking in this field is indicated by the absence of conceptual integration between the different papers. It is evident that not all participants meant the same thing by panic, morale, leadership, and other terms.

A pervasive and laudable theme is the plea

for analysis of both individual and group reactions to disaster in terms of the social context. The papers on "Social Causes Contributing to Panic" (G. M. Gilbert), "Research on Reaction to Catastrophe" (J. S. Tyhurst), and "Morale and Leadership" (Leo Alexander), are exemplary in this respect. Gilbert suggests that there is a difference between individual panic and social panic (in which social facilitation plays a part). But in both cases, he contends, destruction of the social basis for orientation must contain the explanation for panic. He seems to agree with Tyhurst that an important next step for psychiatrists studying panic and morale is the development of a liaison with other social scientists.—LEWIS M. KILLIAN.

The Development of Economic Thought. By HENRY WILLIAM SPIEGEL (EDITOR). New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1952. xii, 811 pp. \$6.50.

Professor Spiegel's collection of essays, which brings together in one volume some of the best estimates of economists of one another from Plato to Paul A. Samuelson, unquestionably is a useful book for students of the development of economic science. However, one may question some of the inclusions in the volume and the implied rejection of others, given that any book is limited in size. For example, there is no article by or on Nassau Senior; only casual mention of him is made in connection with Malthus. Senior, as one of the early apostles of utility, one suspects rates as much space as Heckscher's controversial encyclopaedia article on Mercantilism. It is unnecessary to stress that, in articles of this nature, as much is revealed about the writer as about the subject.

A number of the articles included appear to justify the view that the editor is interested mainly in having as many individuals as possible represented, passively or actively, as it were. I have here in mind that better articles are available on the work of some of the people written about. As a case in point, it might be suggested that Schumpeter's essay on Pareto could have been substituted very profitably for that of Demaria. There are other instances to bear this out.

Some may question the usefulness of this book on the ground that nearly all of the essays included in the volume can be found in any good library, and the information contained in the biographical sketches supplied by the editor, in any doctrines textbook. Note the word "nearly." There are three previously unpublished articles on J. B. Clark, Wicksell, and Pigou. Of particular note here is Ragnar Frisch's mathematical exposition of Wicksell's theories of

capital and of the cumulative process. (On the latter count, Frisch claims to have disposed of Myrdal's criticism of Wicksell. For the validity of this claim this reviewer cannot vouch.) There are also included several articles not previously available in English. Of a total of thirty-nine articles, seven fall into this latter category. This consideration may make the book worthwhile even for our hypothetical questioner.

—ERWIN S. MAYER.

Childhood Experience and Personal Destiny. By WILLIAM V. SILVERBERG. New York: Springer Publishing Company, Inc., 1952. xi, 289 pp. \$4.50.

Dr. Silverberg, Clinical Professor of Psychiatry at New York Medical College, is another in the growing procession of psychoanalysts who are modifying orthodox Freudian theory by a more adequate consideration of social and cultural factors. He acknowledges his indebtedness to Harry Stack Sullivan for the idea that the problem of greatest significance to a developing personality is the maintenance of self-esteem and that the solutions (ego-devices) to this problem are worked out in a field of interpersonal relationships. But Dr. Silverberg also draws upon clinical data derived from nearly thirty years as a psychoanalyst to present his own theory of the genesis of personality in general and of neurosis in particular.

Affirming that the early Freud was sound in his assumption that the etiology of neurosis is to be found in the traumatic experiences of infancy and childhood, he nevertheless attempts to demonstrate that a much wider range of experiences is involved than Freud recognized, and that these experiences vary in different cultures. Instead of Freud's universal phases of development—oral, anal, phallic, and genital—Dr. Silverberg discusses three general areas of experience under the headings of (1) problems

of orality and deprivation, (2) problems of discipline, and (3) problems of rivalry and genitality. With each area, he details the gamut of problems and situations posed, in American culture, and the still greater variety of solutions devised. For example, in the second experiential area, he makes clear that toilet training is not necessarily the first situation, and certainly not the only situation, involving "approval and disapproval, reward and punishment, discipline through love and through coercion or intimidation . . ." (p. 104). The child must make adaptations to many disciplinary situations. Similarly, in his discussion of the other experiential areas, and in his concluding consideration of criteria for mental health, Dr. Silverberg shows his awareness of many kinds of social situations and his appreciation of the role of cultural and relatively unique interpersonal factors.

The book deserves the attention of clinicians and scientists interested in the rapprochement of psychoanalysis and social psychology.—MILTON A. MAXWELL.

Patterns of Marriage: A Study of Marriage Relationships in the Urban Working Classes. By ELIOT SLATER and MOYA WOODSIDE. London: Cassell and Co., Ltd., 1951. 311 pp. 17/6d. net.

The book should be read by social scientists, particularly those interested in the family. Written by a research oriented psychiatrist and a psychiatric social worker, it compares soldiers who developed neurotic illnesses during service in World War II and soldiers admitted to a London hospital without such illnesses. Interview and questionnaire data were secured from 100 men and their wives from each group. The neurotic and non-neurotic were compared on such items as childhood experiences, courtship behavior, reasons for marrying, assortative mating, happiness in marriage, and sex life.—HARVEY J. LOCKE.

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(Listing of a publication below does not preclude its subsequent review)

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